

SPEECHES
OF
J. C. GHOSE.

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PREFACE.

Roy Bahadur Jogendra Chunder Ghose, whose speeches I am publishing, is one of the most remarkable men of this country. The son of Sir Chunder Madhub Ghose late Judge and Officiating Chief Justice of Bengal and grandson of Roy Bahadur Durga Prosad Ghose, who early in the last century made the settlement of half of Bengal, he was a distinguished graduate of the Calcutta University, an able pleader of the High Court, the first elected Fellow of the Calcutta University and a member of its Syndicate. He was elected a member of the Calcutta Corporation by defeating Mr. C. R. Das, and became a member of the old Bengal Council by defeating Maharaja Bahadur Sir Manindra Chunder Nundy, and he was a member of the first reformed Council representing the Calcutta University by defeating its Vice Chancellor Sir Nil Ratan Sarkar. The Swarajists have this time captured the University seat. The beneficent activities of Roy Bahadur Jogendra Chunder Ghose are too many to narrate here. Mr. Harold Mann said of him that there is no beneficent work in Bengal which has not proceeded from him. A Swarajist leader wrote to him "what you have not done for Bengal is probably not worth doing". Sir Shumsool Huda wrote of him as one "who has done more than any other to advance the cause of this poor country."

One of the first works of his life was while he was still an undergraduate to establish for the first time Night Schools for the working classes where he taught himself. His next notable work was to take up the cause of Assam coolies. At his own cost out of his first earnings as lawyer he employed agents in the main stations in the route of emigration to prevent fraudulent recruitment. The number of coolies at once fell by thousands. He then moved a resolution in the National Congress for abolishing this system of legalized slavery. The Government has since repealed the obnoxious Emigration Law and practically abolished the system.

While in the Senate he was one of those through whose exertion the B. Sc. degree was instituted, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of Sir Ashutosh Mukerji and his friends. He was however unfortunately defeated by one vote in the Senate in his attempt to improve the physique of the youth of Bengal by making physical education compulsory.

In Calcutta some of the widest roads and the underground drainage of the suburbs were carried out mainly through his exertions. He got a certificate of honor for his good work from Sir Alexander Mackenzie even after his seconding a vote of censure against him which was carried in the Corporation. He resigned the Municipal Commissionership as a protest against the reactionary Municipal Act introduced by Sir Alexander Mackenzie which he had the satisfaction of seeing repealed in the last Council.

He is the founder and Secretary of the Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education of Indians, which has sent over 400 young men to most of the principal foreign Universities of the world. His students have started 20 new industries. About 12 D. Sc.s. and Ph. D.s. and 30 Msc.s. and 100 B.Sc's of the Universities of London, Edinburg, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Berlin, Paris, Basle, Cornell, Michigan, Ohio, California, Harvard, Illinois and Tokio are among his students, who are employed in most of the Colleges of India as professors. On account of his strenuous efforts in the cause of foreign education, the Nabya Bharat, one of the leading magazines of Bengal, described him as the Mikado of Bengal.

The late Raja Peary Mohun Mukerji the leader of Hindu Society and Sir Manindra Chunder Nundi wrote of him that by sheer force of the number of the students sent abroad he has broken down the ancient social barriers against sea-voyage which have practically disappeared from Bengal only since the Association was established. The Bangabashi the leading orthodox paper of Bengal, on account of the defeat inflicted by him at a great public meeting at Burdwan on the reactionary party led by the famous writer Indra Chandra Banerji, in a bitter poetical attack on him wrongly ascribed the destruction of Hindu Society to him.

But all the above are the fleeting works of the man. He is above all a scholar and author, a philosopher and religious teacher. Only as such he will be

remembered by future generations. His great work on the principles of Hindu Law in three volumes is a unique original production which has greatly helped, as a judge of the Privy Council said, in clarifying Hindu Law and liberalizing it. His translations of all extant Sanscrit texts and commentaries, which have come down from 2500 B. C. to the present day, is a monumental work, the like of which is not to be found in any other country, and as was said in the Bengali Papers at the time "will last as long as Hindu Law and the Sanskrit language will last". His Tagore Lectures on Impartible property and Endowments are also standard works.

But his greatest work is his Positive Religion in which he has vindicated pure theism. His encyclopaedic knowledge and unrivalled erudition and spirituality has enabled him to marshal and criticize all ancient and modern scientific and philosophic theories and ideas and to establish the personal God. It is a book, as an eminent European professor wrote, which could only be "the outcome of long reflection and a grand experience." Indeed without the varied experiences of life, a book of true spirituality is not possible.*

In the Legislative Council, he was next to Sir Surendra Nath Banerji, its most eloquent member and was practically the leader of the House. Against the opposition of the Government and the ministerial party,

A detailed account of the works done by the Rai Bahadur will be found in the appendix.

He carried his proposals for establishing charitable Dispensaries in every Thana and village union and for the supply of drinking water in the rural areas. The Government and the ministerial party, who have been posing as champions of constructive work without doing anything but imposing fresh taxes, bitterly opposed him and grossly abused him for these resolutions as extremist. The resolutions have however since been given effect to and the 50 millions of the poor people of Bengal will have medical relief and drinking water in the course of a few years. It is an achievement not very spectacular but more beneficent than any that has been carried out hitherto. It was he again who brought in the unfortunate girls of Bengal within the protection of the Bengal Childrens Act, notwithstanding the opposition of the knighted ministers of the crown. He supported the Government and the European community in protecting their just rights and was thanked by them several times, a member of the Executive Council telling him on one such occasion that he was the most honest member of the Council. But it is a strange fact, which shows why the British rule is universally unpopular, that he was several times grossly abused by those very Europeans, whose just interests he safeguarded against extremist attacks, and that the member of the Executive Council mentioned above who is now a Chief Commissioner, because he refused to withdraw the inoffensive word *Zid* in connection with the paper books of the High Court used towards a favourite Judge,

who subsequently quickly fell from favour and came to be regarded as an extremist, was instrumental in his leaving the Council on the occasion.

He led the historic attack on the exorbitant ministerial salaries communal representation, regulation of cow-slaughter, the revolutionary changes in the Calcutta Municipal Act, which made him very unpopular with Government officials and so-called liberals. He was equally disliked by the extremists, whose demands he could not support when he considered them to be unjust and unreasonable.

He was perhaps the strongest champion of the middle classes in the Council and led the attack against unwise retrenchment, disastrous to progressive administration and to the educated classes of this country.

His speeches are models of eloquence and political wisdom and every political aspirant would do well to read them. I have thought them worthy of ranking among the best of their kind delivered in any Legislature and of preserving them in a book.

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1st July 1924.

SPEECHES OF J. C. GHOSE.
SPEECHES IN THE BENGAL LEGISLATIVE
COUNCIL.

ON MEDICAL RELIEF FOR THE PEOPLE.

RAI JOGENDRA CHUNDER GHOSE BAHADUR
MOVED : " This Council recommends to the Government that every effort should be made to have immediately a charitable dispensary in every Thana and for the present to induce three doctors to settle and practice in the rural areas in each Thana by subsidizing them to the extent of Rs. 30 a month each, half being paid by the Government and half by the District Board."

The urgent necessity of this measure, which is after all very inadequate to the needs of the country, is known to everybody. I have consulted several Chairmen, and members of District Boards and other local bodies, and they all approve of this resolution. I believe that the great majority of my countrymen who live in Calcutta have no idea of the distress of the people of the Mufassal. I have many a time gone to the Mufassal, and I know what is the fear in the minds of men, where there is no doctor. I have been told by a very experienced Sub-Divisional Officer that whenever he goes to outlying places, he trembles in fear. At the present moment, there is an epidemic of cholera at a place not more than 50 miles from

Calcutta, and I have positive information that hundreds of dying men and women are deserted by their relatives and the dead are left unburnt and unburied. We know that the Government in European countries comes to the aid of the poor when there is an epidemic of typhoid. We know also that one case of cholera in England or in any other country in Europe would create a sensation and a panic, and millions would be spent for driving out that epidemic. But what of India, where we have got several epidemics every year? We must do something in the matter. I know that we cannot always create doctors, but the want of doctors creates a panic and a sense of helplessness in the minds of the people who die by thousands.

I appeal to the Government to look to our poor countrymen in the Mufassal—to the millions who pay taxes and get nothing in return. Sanitation and education are very good, but they are for the living and not for the dead. I have been asked where is the money to come from. I have made a very small demand. I have asked for Rs. 15 for each doctor from the Government; it may be a little more, Rs. 20 or Rs. 25. Two thousand such doctors can be employed from the salaries proposed to be paid to the Ministers and their establishments. I think that no minister would like to take any salary when tens of thousands of his countrymen die without any medical relief and die in utter helplessness. It was the great Asoka who first laid down—and it is described in pillars of stone—that it is the first duty

of Government to give medical relief to its subjects. That rule was forgotten for many a year before the English came here. But I must give them the credit that is due to them; they established hospitals and dispensaries and employed doctors. But very little has yet been done, considering the grave needs of the country. Now that we have got the subject under our control, we should not do less than what the District officers did before and who certainly did very good work. I have made a very small demand. If our Ministers, who are men of great influence, will make the necessary effort, I am sure the money will come. Public spirited men will come to the rescue. If the Government pay half, the other half will be forthcoming. I am a small zamindar and I am willing to pay for six doctors; and I know that there are many more generous and liberal-minded men than myself, who will do more.

I am willing to leave out the latter portion of my resolution; namely, the following: "By subsidizing them to the extent of Rs. 30 a month each, half being paid by the Government and half by the District Board." What I desire is that every effort should be made in the name of humanity to give medical relief to the poor people of Bengal. I submit it is a non-contentious matter, and I hope it would be carried without a division.

There was a strong and violent opposition from the Government, the minister and their followers, to which the mover gave the following reply :

I have met with greatest surprise of my life to-day. I have travelled through all the districts of Bengal and I know at least 50 Thanas in Bengal. I have got properties in at least six Thanas in Bengal. And I know the conditions in every one of them and I have been told to my face—what do you know of Bengal?—by men who never had any experience of Bengal outside the town of Calcutta. I have been told that I have given no figures and that I have no figures. I am told that I do not know that there are 688 thanas. I think I told them that it would require 2,000 doctors. Do not they know simple arithmetic and that 688 multiplied by 3 would make about 2,000. That is why I asked for 2,000 doctors in my speech. What more definite information do they require? What did I say? I said that 2,000 doctors were required for our poor people and I suggested that the Government should pay Rs. 15 a month for each doctor. And I am told point-blank that I am one who does not know Bengal and who has got no figures. There is another matter. Did I suggest for a moment that you should force it upon the District Boards? At the very outset I said that I would take out that portion in my resolution which says that half the cost should be borne by the District Boards, and what was my suggestion? I only said that an effort should be made in this direction. Even to this, objection is taken, rhetoric is employed, invective used and, one gentleman would have castigations made. I am proud of that.

Nothing good was done in this country or in any country without abuse and castigation being cast upon the men who wanted to do good. How are the mighty fallen! Surendra Nath Banerji—Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea—gets up and says—I oppose and object to this resolution. How are the mighty fallen! A representative of the European community, a member of the great English nation, to whom we owe so much, gets up and says—We oppose this resolution of giving relief to the poor, to the dying, to the diseased. He seems so have lost all the traditions of an Englishman. If these gentlemen go 50 miles from Calcutta they will find hundreds of persons lying dead and unburied, and they get up and tell me that I do not know Bengal. I have travelled throughout Bengal since my childhood. I know what this Council is made of. But I will do my duty so long as I am here. I again say, Sir, that it is not good to oppose this resolution. I ask the Ministers to make an effort. Money? That is of no account. Let them make the necessary effort. But the truth is that they have not got the heart to do so. That is the question and it is not a question of money. It is a question of heart. The Hon'ble Minister's heart has dried up. There is no more sweetness in it. I am very sorry that I have made a reference to the question of Ministers' salaries. I am sincerely sorry for it—I am really sorry : for that little reference my poor countrymen will suffer. Before I conclude I would only say that I am sorry that I became irritated when I was told by persons

who have not been outside the precincts of Calcutta and its suburbs, who do not know the suffering prevalent throughout Bengal, that I knew nothing of Bengal.

On a division being taken the motion was carried. Since then the Government has been trying to carry out the resolution. The minister in charge has made the declaration that there would be a charitable dispensary for every Thana and for every village union immediately.—Ed.

Roy Bahadur Jogendra Chunder Ghose : I move the resolution that stands in my name that—"This Council recommends to the Government that out of the sums saved by retrenchment by the Council in the present Budget, a sum of Rs. 1,00,000 be allotted to the District Boards for tanks and wells this year, and a further sum of Rs. 1,00,000 be allotted to the said Boards for medical relief to the people in accordance with the resolutions passed by this Council."

The resolution deals with the primary needs of the people. We saved about Rs. 20 lakhs in the last Budget by curtailment of expenditure. That amount should be spent, I submit, on our primary needs. Day before yesterday we got the supplementary Budget. Government may spend as much money as they like, but our primary needs must be met. You are all aware that this year there has been a very great drought throughout the province. Tanks and wells have dried up and the sufferings of the people are very great. Women, I know, in many places, have to travel six to eight miles every day for bringing water—brackish water—from distant tanks. People cannot get sweet water as most of the rivers and tanks in Bengal have dried up. In the Sunderbans which is intersected by salt water rivers and creeks, people want, like the Old Mariner, sweet water but find with bitterness—"Water, water, everywhere but not a drop to drink". Sir, this year the crops have partially failed throughout the province and the distress is great. The people have been hard hit and

they are unable to help themselves. The District Boards have got no money to help the people. Therefore, I propose that the District Boards should be helped. This matter cannot be delayed because the distress will be greater from year to year. All that I have at present proposed is that the existing tanks should be deepened next cold weather. There is no time to lose. The sum is a very insignificant one. Let us have something and that before the next cold weather.

As regards medical relief you are all aware that Bengal has passed through an epidemic of cholera this year which has not quite disappeared yet; you will find that the death-rate from cholera is still high not only in the interior of the districts but in Calcutta also. So far as the districts are concerned there is no good water to drink but only muddy and brackish water. Our Minister in charge of sanitation who did not at first look with favour on the resolution passed by us about medical relief, has since been convinced of the great necessity. He has allotted Rs. 15,000 for it and, in the supplementary Budget, I find he has allotted another Rs. 15,000 and he has been pleased to tell me that he may be able to find another Rs. 20,000 for the purpose. He has also been pleased to ask me to move that one lakh of rupees be allotted for the purpose in the next Budget. It is good of him to say so but we cannot wait. The money belongs to the people. They pay the taxes and their urgent necessities must be met. Then, and then only, will they pay the taxes and enjoy

with advantage, the benefits of a civilised Government. I therefore move, Sir, that this resolution be passed.

In reply to opposition from the Minister, who expressed sympathy and proposed loans, and his followers Mr. Ghose made the following reply:

An overflow of sympathy is always suspicious. District Boards have been told to borrow money on loans mortgaging their resources. It is not too easy to induce the District Boards to raise loans. Sir, as I have said before, our primary needs must be met, we take no refusal, we shall be justified in withholding payment of taxes if you do not allow us to live. Sir, we have been told that there is no money and that we only saved 13 lakhs. Now Sir, we are not children. We shall take no refusal in this matter. This should be the first charge upon the revenues of the State. Here is another supplementary budget coming in. Let this be passed first and then we will see about the supplementary budget. You never thought that you had no money when you sent in the supplementary budget. We shall first pass this and see what the Government do.

The motion was then put and carried.

ON WATER SUPPLY.

Roy Bahadur Jogendra Chunder Ghose : I move that this Council recommends to the Government that a sum of Rs. 2,00,000 be allotted to the district boards during the next cold weather for the supply of drinking water in the villages.

We passed a resolution in this Council a year and a half ago by which we recommended that Rs. 2 lakhs be granted to District Boards for water supply. That resolution still holds good, but it has, not yet been given effect to. We, the people of Bengal are helpless. Under the Reforms we were told this Council would have supreme power over the transferred subjects, but as our resolutions are not given effect to, I say the people of Bengal are just as helpless as they were before, "*Tumi je timire, tumi she timire*": "Poor Bengal is in the same darkness as it was before the Reforms." We people here, are in trepidation while we rise to speak, for we find that in the words of the Psalmist "our words are wrested all day long." But when the Executive, who are supposed to be our servants, openly and defiantly repudiate our resolutions, we can do nothing. The people of Bengal are suffering greatly for the lack of the first necessities of life. It is useless dilating on their agony : it is well-known to our Minister. It is said that we have got no money. We imposed three taxes, but we could make no provision for a pittance of Rs. 2 lakhs.

We have got a surplus of Rs. 50 lakhs and we have got two supplementary budgets, but in the dreary deserts of these pages we find no indication of a drop of water to moisten the parched lips of the people of Bengal. Not only are we helpless, but we find that His Excellency the Governor is equally helpless. He spoke at Rajshahi as follows :—

“The two main impressions which I have derived from the tour as a whole are the urgent need for an improvement in the supply of drinking water throughout the district and the necessity of increasing the facilities for medical advice and treatment available for the people. These are the needs which in the main must be supplied by local initiative and from local funds but the present deficiency in both respects is so great and so general that some help from Government is certainly required”.

He promised to discuss the matter with his Ministers on his return “with every wish to provide as speedy and efficient remedies as possible.” He did not know that, in the meantime, his Ministers have replied to a question by a member that water-supply must be provided for by local funds. I am afraid he too will find himself helpless like us. He has taken this position because he wishes to give the Reforms the fullest chance. But he is here also to enforce the Reforms. He should see that his Ministers give effect to the resolutions of the Council and act in consonance with the wishes of the people.

'Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghosh Bahadur's resolution was accepted in the following amended form:—

"This Council recommends to the Government that a sum of Rs. 2,00,000 be allotted as grants or loans as the Government may think fit and practicable to the District Board during the next cold weather for the supply of drinking water in the villages."

Subsequently on 22nd November 1922 on the motion of Rabu Tanka Nath Choudhury asking for 5 lacs for medical relief, Mr. Ghose made, the following speech:—

I know that Mr. Goode and his Excellency's Government are deeply interested in this question, and—[A voice: What about the Minister?]*—they will do all that lies in their power to help the poor people of Bengal. But I must say here that the grant of Rs. 250 for a village dispensary and Rs. 500 for a Thana dispensary to the District Boards as provided for in the budget is grossly inadequate. I am sure Mr. Goode will do his best to increase this amount; but to say now that the sum of Rs. 1,50,000 was not spent by District Boards, because they did not agree to his proposals, is I think very unreasonable. The Department, might think it to be a reasonable grant, but the District Boards in their poverty refused it, not all; but some of them, and therefore, the money has not been spent. That being so, I do hope that the Department may increase the grants and spend*

the whole amount of Rs. 1,50,000. Mr. Goode has told us that he will place the proposal of allotting Rs. 500,000 for the purpose in the very forefront of the programme for the next year. If he had said only that much, I would have requested Babu Tanka Nath Choudhuri to withdraw his proposal ; but in the same breath he said: "I cannot give you more than Rs. 15,000 for the next Budget." That is a position which, I hope, this Council will not accept and I am sure Mr. Goode himself is very sorry that he has to make that statement, but I do hope that he will not stick to it and he will do his very best to give Rs. 1,50,000 for three years which he promised and which we passed. If he says that much, I will make every attempt to induce Babu Tankanath Choudhuri to withdraw his proposal.

ON THE REDUCTION OF SALARIES.
OF MINISTERS.

Roy Bahadur Jogendra Chunder Ghose moved
‘that the salary of a Minister be fixed at the
amount of the salary of the Under-Secretary of
State for India, *i. e.*, at £ 1,500 a year.”

It is rather hard for a man of a weak constitu-
tion like me to be called upon to speak at such a
late hour of the day as half past six ; but, Sir, I
shall do my work.

I beg to move that the salary of a Minister be
fixed at the amount of the salary of the Under-Sec-
retary of State for India *i. e.*, at £ 1,500 a year. I
have put the figure £ 1,500 not because I love
pounds more than rupees, but I have put it just to
point out that that is the salary of the Under-Sec-
retary of State for India, that is, the salary which
Lord Sinha got while he was in England. It is for
that reason that I have put it in pounds. To me,
Sir, there is no option left in this matter. This was
the plank upon which I sought election from
the graduates of Bengal and I cannot now recede
from that position. Sir, the voice of the country
has been expressed in unequivocal terms in a hun-
dred public meetings. There have been public
meetings in every district calling upon their re-
presentatives to vote for the resolution. Whether
they will do their duty or not is not for me to see.
There has been a meeting at Burdwan, the city of

the Maharajadhiraja Būhadur of Burdwan, where they settled that the salary should be Rs. 1,000 a month. There has been a meeting at Krishnagar, the city of the Maharaja of Krishnagar, who sits in my front. But what these gentlemen will do now, I cannot say. Their duty is clear.

The people of India are the poorest among the nations of the earth. They are so poor and consequently despised that the white settlers of Canada, Australia and South Africa refuse them admission on the ground of their lower standard of living. Now, Sir, let us see what these countries, proud of their wealth and high standard of living, pay to their Ministers. I find that in Canada the Prime Minister gets less than Rs. 3,000 a month. All the other Ministers get less than Rs. 1,000 a month. In Australia, in New South Wales, there are 12 chief Ministers, including the Prime Minister who all together get £11,040, *i. e.*, most of them get £800 a year each. In South Australia, £5,000 is allotted to the Prime Minister and five other Ministers, and six Ministers get about £800 a year each. In Queensland, the Premier and the Vice-President of the Executive Council get £1,300 each and the other Ministers get £1,000 a year each. In Tasmania, the Prime Minister gets £950 a year and the other Members of the Executive Council get £750 a year. In Western Australia, the Prime Minister gets £1,500 and the other Members of the Executive Council get £1,300 a year. In New Zealand, the Prime Minister gets £1,600 a year and

the other Ministers and the Members of the Executive Council get £1,000 a year each. In south Africa, the Members of the Executive Council of the Governor-General, whose status and functions are analogous to those of the Governor-General of India each gets £2,500 a year. In Japan—an Asiatic Empire—one of the greatest powers on earth, which conquered the Russians and founded the empire which is dreaded by the British themselves—so dreaded that they have sought on alliance with it for the protection of India—in that country what does the Prime Minister get? He gets Rs. 1,750 a month. Other Cabinet Ministers get about Rs. 1,200 a month each. In the United States, the Ministers get about Rs. 2,500 a month each. You must remember the United States is the richest country on earth—the creditor of Great Britain and France—whose debts Britain and France are finding it very difficult to pay. The Presidents of the Legislative Councils in Australis get about £750 a year. Sir, the duty of the representatives of the people is clear. They are to look to the interest of their countrymen first. But in this country we are guided by motives other than patriotic. We being a subject race, always look to the men in power, and men of wealth and men enjoying high salaries are our patrons and we are always anxious to go to their tea-parties, to dance attendance upon them and to vote just as they desire.

Sir, I have been pressed with many arguments and even the threat of a dissolution of this House has

been levelled at me. I cannot be guided by these considerations? Hopes and fears should not influence the action of a man who wants to do his duty. Now, sir, let us consider the objections to the reduction of salaries one by one. The first objection is that the Ministers require Rs. 64,000 because they will have to entertain their friends and high officials and members of the Council. But I do not desire that any entertainments should be given at the public expense. The objection has no weight with me. The second objection is that there should be a loss of prestige. Now, gentlemen, you all know that Mr. Hughes, Sir Robert Borden and Sir Wilfred Laurier, the Prime Ministers of Canada and Australia, whom the Sovereign delights to honour, and who are among the greatest statesmen in the British Empire, all get less than £2,000 a year. Has there been in their case a loss of prestige? Now, gentlemen, you all know that Count I to got Rs. 1500 a month. Was he on that account less revered than the greatest statemen of Europe? Remember that Marshal Niogi, the conqueror of the Russians, whose commands three millions of Japanese soldiers regarded as the commands of God, and at whose command they rushed to fill up the ditches with their dead bodies, got only Rs. 1,000 a month.

Now, Sir, let us come to India. You have all heard about Chanakya, the great Kautilya, the exterminator of the Nandas of the *Purana*. It was he who exterminated the great Imperial House of the Nandas, at the fame of whose power the Greek

soldiers under Alexander the Great recoiled in fear. These Nandas were exterminated by a poor Brahmin Chanakya. And, you all know how he defeated the Greek invader, Seleucus the Great, and obtained for his master the daughter of the great Greek King for wife. But you have not heard of his boast that he, the exterminator of the Nandas, was descended from an ancient family of Rishis and that he too no remuneration from his master, the greatest Emprere of his time, whom he raised to power by his own efforts. He was poor in the world's riches, but was endowed beyond the common with the heritage of the learning of his ancestors.

Coming to later times, Vijnaneswara—many of you here have read his book, the *Mitakshara*—conquered for his master Vikramaditya the Sixth, of Kalyana, all the country from the snow-clad Himalayas to the seas in the south. He, the most learned among the jurists of India, was a mere Vaishnava Yogee who took nothing for himself. Coming to more modern times we come to Madhava. Those of you who have read the *Stories of Nations* must have seen the picture of two poor young men, Bukka Roy and Harihar, who became the greatest kings of the south of India. Do you know by whom they were made kings? They were made kings by Madhava—a poor Brahmin more learned than any man of his time, who took no salaries whatsoever.

What I was going to tell you is this : that in ancient times in India the wealth of the country was with the Vaisyas and the Banias and high salaries

were never considered as a ground for prestige and honour. Prestige and honour were only conferred on learning and power. The argument based on prestige has therefore no weight with me, whose mind, fortunately or unfortunately, is steeped in the old ideas.

Next, we are told that there will be a difference in status, because of the difference in the salary of an Executive Councillor and that of a Minister. When I gave notice of this motion, I also gave notice of a motion that this Council should recommend to the Supreme Government that the salary of an Executive Councillor should also be reduced. My motion was disallowed and thus we are helpless. But, what is in our power we ought to do, Mr. Dadabhoi Naoroji said 35 years ago in burning words that the high salaries consequent on a foreign Government are the cause of the poverty of the people.

I was telling you that Mr. Dadabhoi said 35 years ago that the high salaries consequent on a foreign Government, if not remedied, would lead ultimately to a bloody revolution. Now, that it has been placed in our power by the beneficent Government to order our own house according to our means, we should rise to the occasion and reduce the salaries according to the circumstances of this poor country.

Next, it should be remembered that once we reduce the salaries of the Ministers, all other high salaries are bound to be reduced in time.

I have to make an appeal to the European members of the Council. The report of the proceedings

of the joint Committee tells us that that Committee was of opinion that the salaries of the Ministers were too high and that they should be less than the salaries of the Executive Councillors. I understood that Mr. Bhupendra Nath Bose, who had the largest share in the framing of these regulations, at first proposed that the salary of Ministers should be only Rs. 3,000 a month. But there was an agitation; and what did the Joint Committee do? They did not fix the salary at the same amount as that of the Members of the Executive Council, but they were wise enough to leave to the elected members of the new Council to decide whether they should reduce these salaries or not. That stage has now come. And if we, the elected members of the new Council, consider that, in view of the stringency of the finances, it is desirable to fix the salary of Ministers at a figure not higher than that of the Prime Minister of Japan should you by your votes defeat the object of the elected members?

(At this stage the speaker, having reached the time-limit, had to resume his seat.)

TECHNOLOGICAL AND AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur :—
"This council recommends to the Government that a technological and agricultural college on the standard of the great technological colleges affiliated to the Universities of Great Britain and America granting B. Sc., M. Sc., and D. Sc. degrees affiliated to the Calcutta University and closely related to the University as in other countries, should be established at Calcutta without delay."

At the outset I must mention that the idea of industrial schools and colleges we owe to the British Government. Committee after committee has been appointed by the Government of Bengal and the Government of India to consider the question of industrial education. The last was the great Industrial Commission. I suppose Government have spent not less than Rs. 2000000 upon this commission. What I now desire is that the recommendations of that commission should be given effect to. There is no room for uninstructed opinion in this matter. The question has been discussed threadbare upon all its bearings by those Commissions and especially by the Industrial Commission. Therefore we have only to take the conclusions of the Commission. We have also the recent University Commission, upon which a very large sum of money has been spent, and that Commission has also reported in favour of the scheme that I now propose

All that I now ask you to-day is to give effect to the recommendations of the Industrial Commission and of the University Commission and no more. The Government of India have accepted these recommendations, and now it is for you to give effect to them. If you don't you will stand condemned before the country as having played false.

Now let us see what the Industrial Commission say. After describing the results of the old Government committee about the industrial schools and technical schools, they say of them :—

"While, therefore, these are institutions to be encouraged and developed within the limits specified we regard them as altogether unsatisfactory, if employed to train artisans for organized industries".

There is no one in this Council competent to question this finding of the Industrial Commission. Let us next go to the matter of technological colleges and see what they say. They say:—

"In the past the question of education of engineers has been too much influenced by the immediate requirements of the Public Works Department. Increasing attention has in recent years been paid to the provision of instruction in mechanical and electrical engineering, but the measures adopted are inadequate, and are conceived on altogether too narrow lines to meet the needs, present and prospective, of a rapidly expanding industrial system".

Then the Commission quote with approval the report of the Committee appointed by the Council of the Institution of Civil Engineers in England of 1905. These recommendations are admirable and include training in a technical college. They recommend that for the average boy the period of college study should be three years, and at least three or four years should be spent in practical training.' The Commission then recommend that provision should be made for the education of subordinates in separate institutions which not being of a university rank should be placed under the control of the Director of Industries—that is quite a different matter—and that should be done in the technical schools. Then they say:—"It is urgently necessary to prepare for a higher technological training, which will provide the means whereby physical science students of all colleges affiliated to the Universities may learn to apply their knowledge to industrial uses. The simplest way of meeting their demand would be to expand the engineering colleges into technological institutes by the creation of new departments. At present they are chiefly occupied in the training of civil engineers. We have since recommended that they should make provision for the higher technical instruction of mechanical and electrical engineers, and we anticipate that the industrial expansion will justify the starting of departments of general technological chemistry which in each college and teaching University will be provided to the extent necessary to meet at any rate the more provincial

local needs. We regard it as certain that public opinion will demand these colleges should be connected with local universities, where the students will be able to obtain University degrees."

The Commission is emphatic that industrial education should be so imparted that it may lead to university degrees. That has nothing whatsoever to do with the training of subordinates and artisans. Not in England nor in any other country, much less in India, will the *bhadralok* class like to be artisans. Brahmins, Kayasthas, Vaidyas, Maulvis and Shaikhs will not like to be artisans. We want educated people to be overseers, engineers, and chemists and without degrees and higher courses that cannot be done. My hands are weak. For generations we, *bhadralok* have been engaged in books and we are weak. I cannot be a *mistry*, but I can be an engineer. My son can be an engineer, or a chemist, but not a *mistry*. The Commission therefore rightly is very emphatic that there should be degree courses in India. The Commission says that this college for technological degrees should be provincial and not imperial. The Commission then contemplated the removal of Sibpur College. They say: "For some years past the removal of this College has been under consideration and Government has been reluctant to incur increased expenditure on the existing institution." I ought to tell you here that Government proposed to give the Belvedere for a technological college in place of the Sibpur College premises. The Sibpur property might be sold for

several lakhs. Then the scheme would not have cost a very large sum of money. That has not yet been done. There are many Government properties, Kidderpore House, Hasting House, etc., all white elephants. But I am not concerned with the removal of Sibpur College just now; that is a matter of detail.

The recommendations of the Industrial Commission were accepted by the Government of India. Let us see what the University Commission say. The Commission say: "..... and we concur in the findings of the committee which was appointed by the Senate of the Calcutta University on the 13th October 1917, that it is desirable and necessary that the University should take steps to develop the teaching of agriculture, technology and commerce."

The Calcutta University only this year applied to the Government in accordance with the above recommendation for a grant to open technological and agricultural advanced classes leading to degrees. Now, Sir, the Calcutta University at a recent meeting (the report of the proceedings has been sent to me by the Vice-Chancellor and I place it before you) say that they have got the Palit Professor of Chemistry, the Ghosh Professor of Applied Mathematics, the Palit Professor of Physics, the Ghosh Professor of Chemistry, the Ghosh Professor of Physics, the Ghosh Professor of Agricultural Botany, the Ghosh Professor of Applied Physics and the Ghosh Professor of Applied Chemistry. Then they say that the authorities of the Science College have

for some time past carefully prepared a programme of work for the development of technological instruction, and its outline is as follows: "It is proposed to teach Applied Chemistry, Applied Physics and Applied Botany (including Agriculture). It is proposed to undertake instruction in chemistry of leather and chemistry of dyes. Besides this, it is proposed to have arrangements for practical instruction in the manufacture of sulphuric acid, glass, paper and pulp, lime, mortar and cement, sugar, soap, candles and glycerine, paints and essential oils. For these, factory appliances like disintegrators, centrifugals, filter-presses, hydraulic presses, vacuum pans, etc. would be indispensable. These would require a grant of Rs. 2,00,000 to enable the College authorities to make a good beginning. Finally, at least Rs. 40,000 would be needed for even a small laboratory for technical analysis. The amount required for the Department of Chemistry is Rs. 4,65,000. In the Department of Applied Physics, it is intended to undertake work on Applied Electricity, in the testing and standardization of instruments, in Applied Optics, (including Illumination Engineering) in Pyrometry and in Applied Thermo-Dynamics (including a study of the efficiency of different types of heat engines). An estimate of Rs. 2,00,000 is manifestly a very modest demand for so important a work". They go on further to describe their requirements, but I am a little tired and cannot read further.

Then they proposed to open agricultural classes. They say they only require land and they

can do the rest. There is no reason why there should not be an agricultural college at Calcutta. It is said it is difficult to get land. There is plenty of land in the southern suburbs opposite the Tollygunge Club. I myself have got 500 bighas there and I am prepared to place it at the disposal of the University. The price to be payable when able. I shall wait for the payment of it when convenient. I cannot make a free gift of it as I am not rich enough. There is land south and east of the Regent Park property, which is much cheaper than my land. It can be had if required. All that I desire is this: that this resolution be accepted and that Government will appoint a committee to give effect to the recommendations of the University Commission and the Industrial Commission. That is all I desire. Money cannot be obtained this year; you will have to draw up a scheme, find lands bring eminent professors from England—I want the very best that is available in England. Money is not required this year. I have told you at the beginning that many Government Committees, especially the Industrial Commission, have considered every conceivable matter and I need not dilate upon it and upon the objections against the granting of degrees. There is one matter which I should like to mention. There were certain officials during the time of Sir Andrew Fraser, who, when I proposed a commission for the establishment of technological degrees opposed it on the ground that we must have industries first and then go to technological education.

The matter went before Sir Andrew Fraser, and he made his decision. I have his letter with me telling me that he had decided the question in my favour and that a technological college should not wait until there are sufficient industries in the country. The Government then settled the question but that was a long time ago. It was decided that degree classes should be opened at Sibpur. I have a letter from the then Director of Public Instruction stating that the classes would open in June 1907-08. Fifteen years have elapsed and the classes have not yet been opened. Will the Government tell us why?

Now, Sir, I have told you all that is material. Anybody who wants to satisfy himself will find every objection answered by the Industrial Commission. The greatest objection to my mind is how to find employment for these graduates. Sixteen years ago the Hon'ble Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee and myself and six other leaders of the Indian Hindu Christian and Muhammadan communities issued a manifesto establishing the Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial education of Indians, one of the object of which was to have a technological college granting degrees. Every one of those signatories is dead. Only the Hon'ble Sir Surendra Nath and myself survive, and I desire very much that before we two pass away, this institute should be established. For the last 16 years we have sent about 300 boys to Europe and America and we have got D.Sc.'s by the dozen, M. Sc.'s by the score, B.Sc.'s by the hundred and a large number

have got technological certificates of proficiency, and these youngmen have got employment, and very high employment. Now, Sir, this is what we Bengali *bhaaralok*, Brahmin and Kayastha, and Vaidaya and respectable Mnhammadans, can and will do. In this work the Hon'ble Nawab Sir Syed Shams-ul-Huda the Hon'ble the Maharaja of Burdwan, Babu Surendra Nath Roy and other persons, whom I see here, have all co-operated, and the thanks of the country are due to them. I am sure they well help us now.

Now, Sir, we are anxious to send boys to foreign countries for industrial degrees, for we know that without degrees they cannot get employment. Throughout India and Burma, all institutions take our boys. They all want B.Sc.'s, M Sc.'s from Glasgow, Birmingham, Manchester, Boston Polytechnique, Berlin University and other institutions. Our boys want degrees. Without them they cannot find employment and the Commission knew it very well, and they recommended that, as in England so here, there should be these degrees. There is one more matter to which I wish to refer: the days for mere literary colleges and universities are gone. There are only two now, Oxford and Cambridge of that description. Oxford has also come to have a polytechnic institute granting degrees; Cambridge alone persists in its old ways. Every two or three counties in England have got a university with technological and agricultural departments. Every state in America also has got such a University. The main stay of a modern university is the technological

department, not its literary side. Electricity, Mining, agriculture, these are the mainstay of the universities of modern times. The old days of prose, poetry, classics, philosophy are gone. The days of mechanical power, the power that is in Electricity and other mechanical forces, rule the world; other things do not count. Therefore, we must have our university moulded on the modern universities. We must have universities, but not like the ones that are being duplicated throughout India; that is mere waste of money. Let us have one university on the lines of the great universities of Europe and America. We have not even got one. Do you know the cause of the great unrest in this country? Our universities turn out clerks, pleaders and Government officials by hundreds, but thousands remain unemployed. They cry for industrial education, not for literary education. Unless and until you supply this great want this dissatisfaction will remain. Therefore, I submit that we should have a university, on the lines of the great universities of Europe and America.

After a year as nothing had been done to give effect to the resolution, Mr. Ghosh moved a resolution for appointing Committee—Ed.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur: I move that "this Council recommends to the Government that a committee of 12 members to be elected by the Council by the single transferable vote be appointed to devise ways and means for the immediate establishment of a technological and, agricultural

college for granting edgrees in consultation with the Principal, Sibpur Civil Engineering College, and the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University.

• The Hon'ble Mr. Kerr, with his robust optimism, bade us not to despair. He has asked us to hope for the very greatest things next year. It was admitted that hitherto we had got nothing. Sir "hope deferred maketh the heart sick," We have been the dupes of to-morrow from the very beginning. We have passed resolutions but no effect whatsoever has been given to them. They have been thrown into the waste-paper basket.

As regards the technological college for Bengal I led deputations to successive Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal when I got repeated promises year after year that a technological college would be established in the near future. Since then the Government appointed an Industrial Commission, and I was told again that as soon as the report of the Commission was out, we would have a technological college. I was told that this matter required great technical knowledge and investigation and therefore Government had appointed an expert committee for the purpose.

A committee, consisting of learned men, experts in industrial matters and technology, was appointed. Many lakhs of rupees were spent by the Government for the purpose and they submitted their report at last recommending that a technological college should be established immediately by the Government of Bengal and another by the Government of India. We

brought this matter to the notice of the Government and we were told that Government were considering it. Then a resolution recommending the establishment of a technological college was moved in this Council, and this Council, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of the Minister in charge, passed it without a division. Our Ministers have a knack of throwing everything into the waste-paper basket. Now, Sir, we have been repeatedly told that we have got no money for the purpose of giving effect to the resolution that we have passed, but the Hon'ble Mr. Kerr has told us that for the next year we may hope to get many things, and the very first thing that we shall want is the technological college for which we have been agitating for the last twenty years and which the Government has been promising for the last twenty years also. The excuse that there is no money may be a good one, but I must remind the Hon'ble Minister that his tenure of office will be only one and a half year more, and he should at least formulate a scheme for the establishment of a technological college. The Industrial Commission indicated the lines on which a technological college should be established and said that it should be done in consultation with the Calcutta University and the Sibpur Engineering College. But I have also asked that the committee should also include the representatives of this House. That is my suggestion. What I desire is that a committee, consisting of the Principal of the Civil Engineering College, Sibpur, the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University and other

expert gentlemen, should be appointed to devise ways and means. I shall be told probably, "Why we have got the Industries Department; that will do the work," but excuse the irreverence, how many of the officers of the Industries Department have ever been through the portals of a technological college? The Industries Department is a very good one, but what do they know of technological colleges? Have they ever been to a technological college in England in France, in Germany or in America, excepting one or two boys of my Association that are employed by them? Therefore the Industries Department is not competent to formulate a scheme. The committee must be constituted on the lines recommended by the Industrial commission. I therefore beg to propose that a committee as indicated by me be appointed to devise ways and means for the establishment of a technological college for Bengal,

INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur: I beg to support this resolution* for this reason. I am fully aware of the deficiencies of the present technical schools, which have been described in the Industrial Commission Report. They, as I told you the other day, are no better than schools for training surveyors and *amins*. There are, of course, classes for wood work and smithy, but they do not prove of much use. If Babu Amulya Dhone Addy's resolution be carried out, it will simply add one or two more schools, because, so far as I am aware in every division, there is an industrial school but there is need for the improvement of the existing schools. They should be put on the same footing as the apprentice classes of the Sibpur College. If that can be done, let us have an industrial school in every division. If that cannot be done, it is no good multiplying schools. I would certainly propose and recommend to the Hon'ble Minister in charge that he should find means to establish apprentice classes like those in the Bengal Engineering College in every division.

* The resolution was for the establishment of a technical school in every Division.

AGRICULTURAL AND VETERINARY CENTRES IN EVERY THANA.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur—I move that this Council recommends to a Government that in every thana there should be established an agricultural demonstration centre under the demonstrator having both agricultural and veterinary knowledge.

At the very outset I most sincerely thank the Hon'ble Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea and Mr. Goode for giving effect to the resolution regarding medical relief and also providing drinking water to the poor people of Bengal. But there is one more vital matter. To the poor cultivator, his bullocks are as dear as his children. If he loses them he loses all. Every year lakhs of cattle die in epidemic in some districts or other. Rinderpest has claimed its millions in Bengal. We ought to understand what that means. It means the loss of cattle of a cultivator which means his entire property. It also means the permanent poverty of the people. It means the dearness of the price of rice, which easily our *sujala sufala* motherland yields to us, in a great measure if the cattle die in thousands. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that preventive and remedial measures should be taken. In every civilized country millions are spent for this purpose. Bengal is wholly an agricultural country and, therefore, our need is much greater than that of any other country. Three things of most essential and

vital importance in this country are—(1) medical relief for the poor and helpless, (2) supply of drinking water, and (3) preventive and remedial measures for cattle diseases. When the last three taxes were imposed. I proposed an amendment that one of them should be ear-marked for essential and vital purposes. That was disallowed and we were told at every step that there was no money for vital purpose. I do not despair. I would even be prepared to an imposition of ~~another~~ tax for vital purposes if that is ear-marked for them. My resolution was of a more extended character but Mr. Swan kindly proposed to me to make it more limited. Therefore, I have adopted the suggestion and just now it is of a very modest character. I have taken this opportunity of bringing these facts before the Council because of the necessity of greater activity.

The resolution was accepted by the Government and carried.—Ed.

On the Board of Secondary Educations.

• Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur:—"This Council recommends to the Government that the recommendations of the University Commission as to the formation of a Board of Education for the superintendence of secondary schools, be carried out without delay, and the management of all secondary schools, Government, aided and unaided, be placed under their charge, and an adequate grant be made by the Government and placed at the disposal of such Board for carrying on the above schools, and that, if necessary, legislation be undertaken for carrying out the above object".

The matter before you is very important. I should have liked to let things go on as now in matters of education but I am afraid, indeed very much afraid, to take it out of the hands of the English educationists. But the Government has placed it in our hands and we must take the responsibility. We shall exercise that responsibility with care and discretion so that the ideals of Western culture, which have made us what we are, may not be impaired. Sir, we speak much of national education. I do not understand what it means. I do not recognise two standards in education. There are not two kinds of Mathematics, or two kinds of Science, or two kinds of Psychology. They are the same in all countries and among all nations. Of course there are two kinds of education—the one progressive,

and the other ancient, non-progressive and stagnant. There is the modern Chemistry and there is the ancient Alchemy. There are the glories of modern Astronomy and the mists of ancient Astrology. I prefer the former. I shall be no party to going back. Therefore, Sir, I do not recognise two standards of education. There is only one standard and that is what leads to the domain of the true and to progress and that is what is meant by education. For that there are no two standards. The only question is that of control. But in saying all this I must also say that the cry of national education has become very clamant, so clamant that we must give way to it. Our boys and young men are being taken away from our schools to so-called national institutions and they are ruining their young lives in a false sense of patriotism. I know thousands of young men, patriotic and generous, who wasted their young lives over national education in 1906. The old cry has again been raised this year with disastrous results. Therefore, Sir, we must make our education national, *i. e.*, under the control of the nation, and have it supported by the Government. My proposal before you is to make secondary education national, that is to say, to have it controlled by the representatives of the people. They shall decide what education is needed and how to impart it to their children. If that is done, our schools will be the only national schools, and no others can ever be recognised by anybody as national in any sense of the term. That is my idea. Therefore, I propose

to make secondary education for the present national, and I propose a National Board to take charge of it. The University commission have recommended it. I do not quite agree with all its recommendations. I would propose that this Board should consist of fifty men representing all the districts and all sections of the community—Hindus, Muhammadans, Christians, Anglo-Indians and the depressed classes; but I would have half the number elected by the graduates of this country. They know the benefits of Western education. They should control our system of education. I should also have one-eighth of the members Englishmen nominated by the Government. I would further have half of the higher inspecting staff English educationists. This is my proposal. You need not take it, the Government need not accept it. The Government should certainly frame the constitution. I leave it to them. All that I desire is that it should be made representative and national, and I would recommend that the Minister in charge should have the constitution approved by this Council. The main idea should never be forgotten, and that is it should be a National Board of Education. Sir, money also should be placed in the hands of this Board to carry on the schools, Government, aided or unaided. I am not now speaking of the intermediate colleges nor am I considering or contemplating the abolition of the Matriculation Examination. Those are beside the question. First let us have the Board and a National Board and let them decide.

Sir, there is another matter. This resolution before you was drafted by some of the Secretaries of the Teacher's Association and placed in my hands Sir, the lot of teachers in Government, aided or unaided schools is very miserable. Graduates among them are in no way inferior to any one of us here, but they to whom we entrust the education of our children work all their lives sometimes on less than Rs. 40 a month, and that without a pension in their miserable old age. Sir, "passing rich on forty pounds a year" is a thing no longer possible. The present state of things cannot continue any longer, and must be remedied. The teachers of schools aided, and unaided, must be taken in hand and that at once. Their salaries should be made adequate and graded, and they should be provided with a pension in their old age. Sir, that is my idea. The details should be settled by the Board when formed, I would leave the details and the constitution of the Board to be settled, in the first instance, by the Government and the Minister in charge of Education. I do not think, Sir, that this resolution, if carried, would require legislation to give effect to it. I do not think it necessary. So far as the Government schools are concerned or the Government aided schools are concerned, they cannot but place themselves under the Board, and according to my proposal every unaided school should receive grants and if they do receive grants they would be only too glad to place themselves under the Board. Therefore, we can do without any legislation, but if legislation is at all

necessary, let us have it by all means. Sir, this idea of a Board for secondary schools is not mine. It is the outcome of the deliberation of the University Commission. The Commission say:—

"Most of the high English schools are under-equipped and are conducted by underpaid and for the most part an untrained staff".

It is admitted on all hands that this state of things must be remedied.

Next comes the question of finance. It is not generally appreciated that out of the profits of the secondary schools the colleges and the University are mainly maintained. The difficulty will be with these colleges and the University. We cannot ignore that fact. The University authorities wrote to the Government of India some time ago to appoint a committee for examining the financial situation. The Government of India ignored it. The matter was brought unofficially to the notice of the Secretary of State, who asked for an explanation. The Government did nothing, but washed its hands of this University and threw the burden upon us. Not content with that they provided us with a white elephant, namely the Dacca University, which is considered by my Muhammadan friends as a special gift for them, though for what reasons I do not know, for they have very few Muhammadan students there.

I will not lengthen the debate. I was only going to say that they have got very few students there.

Sir, it is therefore of the utmost importance to this Council that the Education Minister should at

once appoint a committee to consider the financial situation. We cannot, we shall not, and we will not in any way do any thing by which the efficiency of the University and of our colleges may be impaired. All schemes requiring money for education should wait till we know whether we can maintain our colleges and the University. No further expenditure should be incurred before that. This matter of a Board for secondary education, however, does not depend upon that question. That has been recommended by the University Commission. So let us have this Board. All that we desire is that we shall make a beginning of national education. We shall make this Board thoroughly representative and national.

With these words, I place this resolution for the consideration of this Council. I must say I do so with great trepidation of heart, I do not know where this revolutionary change would lead us to. But we cannot help it. This responsibility has been thrown upon us and we must accept it.

The resolution was carried.—Ed.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

ELECTION AND A NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

The following is the speech on the amendment to a resolution which recommended that graduate of 7 years standing without payment of any fee should elect Fellows of the University. The amendment was carried without a division—Ed.

* Rai Jogendra Chundar Ghose Bahadur: This resolution and the amendment to it are certainly good. I would prefer the amendment to the resolution. I was the first elected fellow of the Calcutta University, elected by the Masters of Arts and Doctors of Science. Since then the rule has been changed and graduates are entitled to elect fellows, but only such graduates who pay Rs. 10 a year, with the result that not more than four to five hundred graduates are enrolled as Registered Graduates. Who are these men? These are gentlemen who are mostly examiners. The result we all know is that there is no fair election of the Fellows to the Calcutta University. Therefore it is time that the rule should be changed and graduates should be allowed to vote without any payment. Is it not known to many members that at the time of election the candidates for election sometimes pay Rs. 10 for many of the graduates for being registered? That is the reason why I object to even Rs. 2 to be paid for registration. Why should there be any payment at all? Graduates of 7 years'

standing elect a member to the Legislative Council without any payment. Why should not they be allowed to elect Fellows without a payment of Rs. 2 or 10 ? It is a bad and vicious system altogether.

While I support this amendment, I must say that there is a great obstacle to it. What is the use of passing this amendment or this resolution without any legislation. We thought and expected that as soon as the Government of India sent the University Bill to this Council it would be introduced. But it has not yet been introduced; and I do not know when it would be introduced or whether it would be introduced at all. If that Bill is not introduced soon what is the good of passing the resolution, as it cannot be given effect to without an amendment of the present law. Therefore, all we can do is to express a hope that it should be so; so far we can go and no further. I shall tell you a further reason why it should be so. There is a cry and a persistent cry that education should be national in this country: Let the Senate of the Calcutta University be composed wholly of members elected by all the graduates of this country. It shall certainly then be a national University. Whosoever may deny its national character it will not matter much. Therefore it is right that the Government should take courage in both hands and legislate that the graduates of the University should be entitled to elect the entire Senate. Then you may say-- "Here you are, your University is wholly national in character. And I shall certainly welcome the day

when this shall be done and if the Government brings in a Bill, I shall certainly put in that provision. As it is all we can do is to express our opinion that it should be so and no more. In that view of the matter alone I support the amendment.

GRANT TO UNIVERSITY AND ITS INDEPENDENCE.

Rai Jogendra chunder Ghose Bahadur —The matter before us is not very difficult of solution if it is approached in a fair and impartial spirit. We have been hearing for the last six months about the freedom—the autonomy—of the University being in danger on account of the action of the Hon'ble the Minister in laying down certain conditions about the grant. Universities in India and Europe were formed round great teachers and writers by students eager for knowledge and very often indigent. Knowledge and wisdom are based on freedom, but I am afraid that ideal our university has not got before it. Sir, for the last 10 years we have had doctors of science and philosophy in scores, but none of them has brought out any work of outstanding merit. This University of ours is not a place where freedom has its fullest scope. This University has come into existence by the favour of Government; its heads are all Government officials, either Judges or Ministers. A learned writer or a teacher will be out of place there. Gentlemen who bask in official favour need not speak so flamboyantly of freedom. This University cannot exist without the vivifying influence of the sunshine of Government patronage. Government patronage is enjoyed by those gentlemen who are at its head now. This state of things should surely be changed. When Government makes a grant, when anybody makes a grant, he has a right

to lay down conditions. But the matter is a little different here. The allocation of grant to the University has been entrusted to this Council to which a degree of freedom has been granted. I, therefore, cannot admit the claim of the Hon'ble Minister that he can lay down conditions—that he can tamper with the vote of unconditional grant by this Council. That claim is not sustainable, and I here standing on behalf of the Council protest against the assumption of that power by the Hon'ble Minister. But Sir, there have been grave irregularities in the action of the University—irregularities so cruelly, but so justly, exposed by our Minister. These irregularities are due only because the Senate is a wholly unrepresentative body, responsible to only one person. This state of things this Council shall mend and, I understand, the Hon'ble the Minister is taking steps in that direction. The freedom of the University must be maintained at all cost, but that does not mean that the directions of the Accountant-General should not be complied with, that does not mean that the Accountant-General shall not be allowed to examine the accounts of the University. That claim of the University is preposterous. Sir, the present Senate cannot exist if the Hon'ble the Minister brings out his long-delayed Bill before us within three months. The present Senate will do well to accept the money that has been granted to it and pay off its debts. Sir, I believe it is the opinion of the great body of graduates and also of my countrymen that the conditions

imposed by the Hon'ble Minister, beyond those of the obligation of carrying out the directions of the Accountant-General, should be withdrawn. The Hon'ble Minister himself has practically admitted that he is willing to do that. Where then is there any difference between the contending parties? What are you crying about? If anybody here says that the Accountant-General shall have no power, with him I shall not argue this matter. No reasonable man will say that. There is no unreasonable man here, who will like to kick up a row simply to attract the attention of the public or of the dispensers of favours. We are thankful to Sir Asutosh Mookerjee for his insistence on the freedom of the University. but I believe he will now see that after the concessions made by the Hon'ble Minister, he has no option but to accept the money and to close this quarrel. I ought to mention here what was mentioned by the Hon'ble the Minister yesterday that upon his recommendation the Education Committee, of which I am an humble member, has agreed to grant a further sum of Rs. 3 lakhs in order to enable the University to clear off its debts. I really am at a loss to understand what you are crying about. I do hope that everyone here will withdraw his amendment since there is nothing to cry about.

COMMITTEE FOR THE UNIVERSITY.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur .—"The Council recommends to the Government that they should, without delay, appoint a committee of twelve members to examine the financial aspect of the proposal for the reconstruction of the University, and for the formation of a Board of Secondary Education, passed by the Council, one-half of the said committee to be elected by the Council from non-official members, one-fourth by the Senate of the Calcutta University, and one-fourth by the Government."

A splendid University has been built up amongst us by the enlightened generosity of successive Viceroys and British educationists. We know that our graduates are in no whit inferior to the graduates of the Universities of the most advanced countries of Europe. I know from personal experience because I have sent hundreds of our graduates to those Universities where they held their own against the best of these Universities. Under the autocratic rule of the present Vice-Chancellor, whatever may be his defects, however much I might disagree with him in his ways, however much I might disapprove of his methods, I must say that the University has prospered. Let not personal malice or prejudice decry the services of our present Vice-Chancellor.

Sir, I have less reason to be partial to him than any other person here but I must do him justice

What is the question before us? The question is how are we to finance the University so that it might carry out progressive ideas of the University Commission? How are we to make it exist and keep up its rate of progress? We have gone into huge expenditure in starting another University, but our dear *alma mater*, a fabric built up by the labours of generations, cannot be destroyed. The question before us is that our University is being starved. These insinuations that its finances are ill-administered had better wait. We are in a very parlous condition. The University cannot pay its way. There is time to abuse Sir Asutosh Mukherji—there is plenty of time.

The University has been for years writing to the Government of India to appoint a committee to go into the finances of this question of progressive advancement. The Government of India—there also personal prejudice had its way—had the matter kept from day to day, year to year, waiting. It was brought to the notice of the Secretary of State and action was imminent when the Government of India washed its hands clean of a province, which is certainly not its favourite, and threw the University upon our shoulders. Now Sir, what is wanted is a committee which will consider the financial aspect of the University. How is it to carry out improvements recommended by the University Commission? How will it be able to keep up its present, I say, its present rate of progress? And you have to consider what are our finances.

Let us forget our personal differences. We must remember that if we go on criticising the maladmini-

sfration of the University; the Government may be reluctant to help us. There is time to criticise the evils and abuses that are in the University but this is not the time for that. I have reason to believe that the resolutions Nos. 1, 2 and 4 have excited the just indignation of the University authorities and if they are passed to-day, I am sure there will be no co-operation from them. The University authorities have refused point blank the jurisdiction of this Council to examine its accounts and it is a very great question, whether the University should not be independent of any official control. The University should be an independent body entrusted with the administration of education in this country. If a person is autocratic or if his ways are wrong, that is no reason whatsoever why we should disturb a system that has worked so well, and take away the independence of the University. We should not interfere in this light-hearted way with our University by appointing a committee to examine its finances and financial administration and so forth. You do not know Sir Asutosh Mukherji. He will never submit to it and we would be made the laughing-stock of the world. Now, Sir, I am supposed to be a man who dearly loves a fight, but the truth is I am a man who is very weak and therefore of a very peaceful frame of mind. I do not like a fight unless it is forced on me. I therefore, when I put in this motion, consulted the most influential men of the University and had it approved by them and then sent it in. I know very well that without the co-operation of the

University we can do nothing. We must have the co-operation of the University for the present. We are going to amend the Universities Act and then, I do hope, whatever evils may now be complained of, will disappear. Well, change in the law of the administration does not always remedy the evils. However we shall do that. Now, the question is a simple one. The University has for years asked the Government to appoint a committee to examine its finances. Not now, to-morrow, the day after, they said; and the University has been starved. It cannot pay its way. We cannot wait. Let there be a committee. Let it examine the finances and the requirements of the University and say what they require and what we must pay. I am proud of my University, as I have said before. Our graduates, as I have said, can hold their own against the graduates of any other University. They have got a hundred generations of intellectual culture behind them and I feel confident that the time is coming when they will be in the vanguard of science and philosophy and advance the boundaries of knowledge. It is not a question of local importance, it is a question which affects human progress. No money should be stinted to keep up the University's rate of progress. If you do that, you will be playing false to the best interests of the country. I therefore, recommend that a committee be at once appointed to consider the financial aspects of the University and not withhold the grants which the University had been enjoying so long. They had been withheld long enough and should not be withheld any longer.

EDUCATION SERVICE.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur:—I beg to support the resolution with certain reservations. At the very outset, I must give expression to the thankfulness of the Educational Service for what Mr. Hornell did for them and for what the Hon'ble the Education Minister has recently done. Were it not for him the Educational Service would not have got 50 per cent. increase of salary. But giving him his due, I must say I cannot understand what he means by saying that the proposal of Rai Mahendra Chandra Mitra Bahadur would mean an immediate increase in the expenditure of nearly Rs. 4 lakhs a year. What he says in this—Rs. 150 rising in 10 years to Rs. 300 in place of Rs. 250 would cost that amount. Surely, no immediate rise is contemplated. That being so the proposition that an immediate increase is required is not tenable, and even then, can we afford it, as we are told that our finances are in a bad way? But the question is this and we have to thank Rai Mohendra Ceandra Mitra Bahadur for this: There has been an increase of Rs. 60 lakhs a year in giving an increase to ministerial officers and peons; what reason is there that the teachers should be worse treated than the ministerial officers? They get nothing extra and further they are poor men, they have to work much harder than the ministerial officers and they have to keep a cleaner appearance before

the boys than the ministerial officers. (Hear, hear. Not only have they to keep up a cleaner appearance but to maintain a cleaner character also. (Hear, hear.) That being so, if anybody deserves any concession it is the men of the Educational Service and teachers. I therefore strongly support the resolution of Rai Mahendra Chandra Mitra Bahadur, but I think that clause 4 of his resolution should be omitted.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur: The education grant I find has received the particular attention of certain gentlemen, but I say that the grant is disproportionately small, very small indeed, having regard to the needs of the country. I, therefore, oppose every motion for the reduction of the grant, and I say, no gentleman should press for reduction. Hands off, I say at least, from the education grant.

PRIMARY EDUCATION AND GURU TRAINING SCHOOL.

As regards the Guru-training schools it is not an easy matter to solve. Primary education is only possible if education is cheap and, therefore, cheap Gurus, teaching in the old style in huts or under trees and not on the system of Mr. Biss advocates, are required. If we insist on a building costing Rs. 5,000 for a primary school or Rs. 40 a month for a Guru, we shall never have universal primary education in this country. That being so, we must set up Gurus of the old style—cheap Gurus—but it is necessary that they should have some training. In that view of the matter Gurutraining schools are indispensable. It is said that Rs. 4 lakhs for the training of Gurus is a very large sum. I say Rs. 4 lakhs for the training of those Gurus, who are to train four crores of boys and girls, is not much. It is a very inconsiderable amount. The question is why do we not spend 4 crores of rupees on primary education? If we do that we will find that Rs. 4 lakhs is a very inconsiderable amount. The time is sure to come when we shall have some courageous Minister and some Governor who will take his courage in both hands and spend money sufficient for the needs of education.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur :—I beg to move, by way of amendment, that motion No. 19 do take the following form :—

“ This Council recommends to the Government to take such measures as may be necessary to extend the franchises to educated women in this country by giving the vote to lady graduates for the election of the member to the Council from the University, and in other constituencies to such ladies as may have passed the Matriculation or Cambridge Junior Examination.”

Before I go into the merits of the question, I ought to mention here that so far as the University election is concerned no property qualification is necessary. Every graduate is entitled to vote and so far as other constituencies are concerned, when I say that they must pass the Matriculation or Cambridge examination, it means provided that they satisfy the property and age qualifications.

The right of women to vote in a society depends on the stage of progress of that particular society. From the most ancient times woman on account of her weakness and dependence on man during maternity, has been at a great disadvantage. She has been considered as a chattel by man. She was burnt and buried alive with slaves, horses, sheep and other cattle, not only in India but also in Scandi,

navia and in other European countries. Women further had no rights to property. It was the Hindu law-giver who first gave her rights to property, her *peculum*, her *stridhan*. In England, it is only in recent years that woman has had her separate property. It was Mahomet who was the most generous of teachers as regards women (hear, hear); even he, the most democratic of men, ordained that women should be immured in the *zenana* (A voice: I question that). Woman has been under a great disadvantage. She has been given the vote only during the last decade in England and in some of the European countries, not in all, after a bitter strife. Now the question is, are we in a position to grant the vote to women; is our society so advanced that we can grant it to them? If you grant it to all women, the result will be that only a few women who have got rid of the *purdah* would be in a position to vote. Even in England where woman has got the vote, her right is not taken seriously, but as a mere show. Well, those gentlemen who talk of woman's right to vote in this country, both Hindus and Muslinnadans, are they prepared to break through the barriers of *purdah*? If they are not, I question their sincerity. As I said before, only a few worthy ladies will get the vote, but the result would be, if we place it upon the property qualification only, a very large number of other women will also get the vote. I reverence women as the race of my mother, my sister, my wife and my daughter, and I am not prepared to cast a stone

at any woman of any description whatsoever. I must point out that upon woman, society, morality and self-sacrifice depend. I would not, therefore, desecrate the sacred vessel, the first receptacle of divine love, manifested through the mother : I would not take her into the stress and turmoil of political life. (Hear hear). I know very well how disagreeable and degrading that strife and turmoil is, and I am really anxious to go out, as soon as I can, of this ignoble strife. I know very well that there are few among us who can resist the temptation of selling themselves to political leaders for gain and power. I would not place woman in that position. When saying all this, I must not forget the fact that woman has perfectly equal rights with man in every matter ; that right cannot be denied. Education was denied to woman in early times ; now it is conceded on all hands. Now, Sir, I want to know what objection there can be for a lady graduate not being allowed to exercise her vote in my own constituency ? Speaking as a representative of the University, I say I can see no reason whatsoever and I demand that my sister graduates should vote. Others have no right whatever to object to it. I go further and say that women who pass the Matriculation examination or the Cambridge examination should be allowed the vote, provided they satisfy the qualifications of age and property. Those women who have enfranchised themselves by education, and freed themselves from the slavery of man, who have discarded the *purdah* and have got themselves

educated on an equal footing with man, have every right to vote Sir, when I find that millions of uneducated, ignorant and superstitious men, dumb driven cattle, are allowed to vote, what reason can there be that educated women, who fully understand their rights, who can hold their own against any man should not be allowed to vote? I can find no reason whatsoever. It is said why make this educational qualification? Speaking for myself, I would put that qualification on men also. What right have ignorant, superstitious men to interfere with the management of the State? (Hear, hear.) I view with apprehension the day when rough-handed labourers and the gross sons of the ugly god Kuvera, the god of wealth, should rule this world. My only hope is Solomon who is right when he says that by wisdom kings do reign, and that without learning society will be impossible. Therefore, I say, Sir, the educational qualification is necessary for all persons, men and women alike. In England you are aware that there is compulsory education, and therefore they do not feel it, but in India, I do feel it that at least as regards women there should be that qualification. Further, there is one other important reason to my mind why this qualification should be inserted and that is this. High education of women in this country is badly neglected. This will be a great impetus to higher education among women. I know from my own experience, as Secretary of certain girl's schools, that girls in India seldom go beyond the Fourth Standard. If you give

the vote to women who pass the Matriculation, it will be a great impetus to high education for women. I do hope that the right of woman to vote should be recognised, recognised for very good reason, in order that her just rights may be safeguarded, and that she may be protected from oppression, and that the honor, that is her due, may be granted to her.

FEMALE FRANCHISE IN MUNICIPALITIES.

Rai Jogendra Chaunder Ghose Bahadur: The proposal to grant the franchise to females of Bengal has proceeded from unjustifiable ignorance of the conditions of our society and from a desire to apply abstract ideas derived from reading a few foreign books to our community, when such application would be positively harmful. I agree that there should be no disability, social or political, for females as females. Women have a just claim to all rights possessed by men in property and other matters, including even their right to choose and discard their mates. They have every right to equal facilities, indeed to greater facilities, for education. They have every right to greater leisure and to be comfortably supported by their husbands and fathers, for they are the mothers of the race, glorified above all others, higher than heaven itself, says a well-known Sanskrit text. They have every right to freedom and the *purdah* should be abolished. But as long as the *purdah* prevails among Hindus and Muhammadans, it is only women of a certain description who will enjoy the franchise, to the detriment of the entire society. No invidious distinction can be made on that score, so there is no alternative but to negative the proposal. But certainly there is no reason to deny the franchise to females of the Brahmo, Christian and other communities other than Hindu and Muhammadan. I do hope, if this

original proposal of the Minister be rejected, which ought to be and which must be rejected, the Hon'ble Minister will be pleased to accept the suggestion to make a slight modification by simply adding "females other than Hindu and Muhammadan." As regards granting the franchise to graduate ladies, there can be no reasonable objection, and I strongly support the amendment of Raja Reshee Case Law. Education obliterates all differences of status between man and man, between woman and woman, and also between man and woman, irrespective of race, caste, colour, and creed. It prevails against all differences of station, of wealth, honour, high places, and power between man and man. A dark Sudra lady graduate is higher than the highest-born Brahmin lady. You may have heard of the poetess Phyllis Whately, "black, daughter of the Sun", who was torn from her home in the wilds of Africa, who extorted the homage of scholars and writers of two continents. The distinction of colour and creed, race and sect, disappear in the bright realms of learning, where truth and beauty reign supreme.

THE BENGAL CHILDREN ACT PROTECTION OF GIRLS.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur :—I have a few words to speak on this Bill. This is a measure of great importance and difficulty. Fortunately for us, philosophers, philanthropists and jurists of Europe and America have given long and anxious thought on the matter, and we have got the Acts of those countries before us for our guidance. Biology and early history of primitive man have proved that man originally was not a very moral person. Our predatory instincts inherited from our ancestors had to be repressed with punishments of death and mutilation. Crimes were generally severely punished. Nanda Kumar was hanged in Calcutta for forgery. Now charity and good sense have prevailed and men are more lenient to their fellow being. Prisons were not places fit for human beings. John Howard and other philanthropists have made them at last fit for men to live. Men were harshly treated till recent times. Boys were just as harshly treated. But the law has been changed in Europe and America for the protection of boys. Boys require protection more than punishment, and we should be guided by those Acts of modern civilized countries. I am sorry to find that this Bill, while purporting to follow the English Act, has substituted " 12 years " for " 16 years " in the definition of children. The framers have further substituted " boys " for " persons " in the English

Act. Girls here require more protection than in any other country, and I hope that the select Committee will put in girls as objects to get the benefits of this Act. Further, the English Act protects young people from the pawnbroker and makes the pawnbrokers taking advantage of them criminally punishable. I do not see why this has been omitted from this Bill. Sir, these are some of the defects and omissions in the Bill which have struck me, and I am sure I shall hear the reasons for them in the Select Committee. I now mention these before you as worthy of consideration.

On Roy Bahadur Jogendra Chunder Ghose's motion in the Select Committee females were included notwithstanding strong opposition. The age limit was also raised to 16.—Ed.

**PROVISION AGAINST CRUELTY AND SEDUCTION
AND PROSTITUTION.**

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur:— I move "that after clause 29, the following shall also be inserted, namely:—

'Where it is shown to the satisfaction of a court having jurisdiction on the complaint of any person, that a girl under the age of sixteen years is being treated with cruelty by her guardian or is, with the knowledge of her parent or guardian, exposed to the risk of seduction or prostitution or living a life of prostitution, the court may adjudge her parent or guardian to enter into a recognizance to exercise due care and supervision in respect of that girl.' "

At the outset, I have to thank the Hon'ble Member in charge, Sir Abdur-Rahim, for having obtained the sanction of the Government of India to this section and for his sympathetic words while introducing the Bill. I was reminded of this section by the proceedings of the Young Women's Christian Association and the Anglo-Indian Association. And while speaking of these Associations, I must not forget the late Mr. W. T. Stead, whose labour and suffering for this cause led to the introduction of this provision in the English Act. I have taken this section verbatim from the English Act (8 Edw. VII, c. 67), with little alteration. In

stances of cruelty in this country are too many and I do not desire to dilate on them—it is a disagreeable task. Instances of seduction, prostitution and connivance are also painfully too numerous and I desire that I should not be obliged to mention them here. It is in the experience of every body present here. It required great suffering and hard labour to have this section enacted in England, but I do not think that is necessary here. I believe no body here would say that circumstances in England are different from those in India. There may be one or two men who would say that in England there is more drunkenness and more immorality than in India; I am not a man to subscribe to that vague assertion. Human nature is human nature everywhere; human flesh is human flesh everywhere. I, therefore, strongly recommend that this proviso which exists in the English statute be inserted in our statute also. Without this and amendments No. 177 and 178, the Bill will be of no use.

At this stage Mr. H. P. Duval sent over the amendment in another form to Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur:—I am much obliged to Mr. Duval. I should like to substitute this for my amendment:—

“That after clause 29 the following shall also be inserted, namely:—

‘29-III A. If it appears to a Court on the complaint of any person, that a girl under the age of sixteen years is being treated with cruelty by her

parent or guardian or, that such girl with the knowledge of her parent or guardian, is exposed to the risk of seduction or prostitution or living a life of prostitution, the Court may direct the parent or guardian to enter into a recognizance to exercise due care and supervision in respect of such girl.' "

The amendment was carried.—Ed,

ABETMENT OF SEDUCTION AND PROSTITUTION.

Roy Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur moved :—
“ If any person having the custody, charge or care of a girl under the age of sixteen years, causes or encourages or abets the seduction or prostitution of the girl, he shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years.” (Sec 39-H.A.)

This is a new provision which has been approved by the Anglo-Indian and European Associations and not disapproved by any other Association. This is the provision of the English law for which the late Mr. Stead tried for many years and succeeded in incorporating in the English statute. If there is white slave traffic in Europe there is child slave traffic in India in a large measure. Babu Surendra Nath Mallik told us yesterday that there were 18,000 public prostitutes in Calcutta alone. I know the wiles of the procuresses and the *bariwalis*. I do very much wish that I could also reach the wealthy dissolute men who get these girls into their power. Without them these *bariwalis* and procuresses would not be here. Therefore, I desire that these *bariwalis* should be brought within the measure of law. The cruelty, the fraud of these *bariwalis* are well-known. They are described in several Bengali novels. The cruelty to these young girls is heart-rending and must be put a stop to at any cost. Man gets girls for his play and pleasure but it is ruin and death to the

latter. I would very much like to punish them first, but, unfortunately, I cannot get at them. Therefore, I must, if it is possible, get at their instruments. I therefore propose that this section, which is reproduced from the English statute, do find a place in our Act.

The amendment was carried.—Ed.

LIABILITY OF PARENTS FOR NEGLIGENCE IN TAKING CARE OF CHILDREN.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur, — I have much pleasure in supporting this amendment.* The fact that parents may be too poor to take proper care of their children cannot be appreciated, I am afraid, by officials and by persons holding honorary offices in any country. This is a fact which any reader of books on sociology or ethics knows full well. We know, here in this country, much more in England and in other countries of Europe, that poor people have no time whatsoever to look after their children. Men and women go out at six o'clock in the morning and come home at eight o'clock in the evening working as masons and coolies of various kinds, leaving their children behind and these children wander in the streets and it is no wonder that some of them go wrong. The question of right and wrong is a question which is a very relative one. It is the rich and the comfortable who talk of the immorality of the poor, but they forget that they are ten times more immoral than those who are forced to immoral conduct by their poverty. I am afraid the pride of moral conduct is too ingrained in the comfortable rich. Speaking of theft or cigarette-smoking, or even say the great virtue of chastity, how can the poor men and women who work be as moral as the

* The amendment was that poor parents unable to take proper care of children should not be punished.

immured rich? Chastity is a fictitious virtue. Talking of right and wrong and other things of the poor is very fine for the rich and the comfortable, but we must take humanity as it stands. Let us not despise the poor human beings—our brothers and sisters—because they are poor. I think it is an impossibility for them to take proper care of children. That men and women should be punished for not taking proper care of their children is, to my mind, preposterous. I will not have such praises from my friend, Rai Radha Charan Pal Banadur, that my sympathy for the poor is great. No, it is not a question of sympathy, it is a question of justice, pure and simple. Therefore, let them have justice. I will not have them, if I can help it, punished for an offence which they do not intend their children to commit.

ON BEGGING BY CHILDREN.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur.— I move that for clause 28 (*al*) (*a*) the following be substituted namely, 'lives by habitually begging under circumstances which may lead to an idle and vicious life.

I find that the British Indian Association and other Indian Associations, which have dealt with the question, have all opposed the insertion of this clause "by begging." The British Indian Association says that this clause is a verbatim reproduction of section 58(*r*) (*a*) of the Children Act of England. But the circumstances of this country are altogether different from those in England. Here, little children in indigent circumstances sometimes derive their livelihood and occasionally even support their aged and infirm parent or guardians by singing hymns in the streets or in people's house—an occupation to which no objection can be taken on grounds of morality. Indeed, to interfere with these itinerant minstrels will practically amount to an interference with the Hindu religion. Again, the mere begging of alms, in itself is not objectionable and should not be penalized in a land where the Poor Law rate is unknown, so long as it is not regarded as a nuisance by the people nor carried on in a manner offensive or repulsive to them. The same may be said of playing and performing and in respect of none of these the idea of prohibition is warrantable. This section is based upon a

provision of the English Act and we must remember that the social laws of England and India are very different. I fully appreciate what Sir Abdur Rahim said—that it is the duty of the State to provide for the very poor, infirm and the old. I do hope that the time will come when the State will support the infirm, those without work and the old, and that begging should be prohibited. But in India with its 300 millions of people, the principle of the work-house and other English systems are not applicable at the present moment, especially when the finances of Government are in such a deplorable condition. Therefore, begging as an institution cannot be abolished in this country, and the Hon'ble Sir Abd-ur-Rahim, speaking for the Muhammadans, also supports this view. I would like to know what would happen to the injunction of the Prophet about alms-giving, the very first and most meritorious act to Muhammadans, if there are no beggars. In this country, we could never support the poor unless every Hindu household gave alms as they are doing now. As regards boys, it is known very well that hundreds of them live upon charity and I know of hundreds of them who have got up to high position in life by begging. They got their education from and lived by begging. Now you may say that begging by boys is to be prohibited altogether, but it is against the very social system of this country. Our system is quite different from the system prevailing in England and until you provide a poor house or something of that sort, you have no right whatsoever to prohibit begging. I, therefore, do not wish to go

so far as the British Indian Association or my friend over there who wishes to omit this section altogether, but what I say is that this should be modified as I suggest: If we go beyond this the Hindus will resent, I cannot speak for the Muhammadans.

The amendment was lost.—Ed.

ON COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur:— I entreat my Muhammadan friends to consider this question dispassionately. At the outset I ought to make clear that Mr. Syed Nasim Ali and the few Muhammadan gentlemen of this Council who are now talking of Swaraj do not belong to and are repudiated by the Swaraj party of Muhammadans led by Maulana Mahomed Ali and excepting the hundred or two hundred men who elected them, the mass of the Muhammadan population do not recognize their representative character. Their new role as advocates of Sawaraj is a great change in their political outlook. Similarly, the great mass of Hindu Sawarajists led by Mahatma Gandhi will not recognize the claims to political wisdom of the great political leaders, who are now all holders of high posts, who laid down the rule of communal representation as the panacea of all evils. Hindus and Muhammadans of all shades and opinions are also now not prepared to admit the political infallibility of Mr. Montagu, who, I regret very much to say, has been thrown out by his constituency. So I had better follow Mr. Syed Nasim Ali's advice to be guided by experience. In these matters the lessons of history and the experience of mankind are surely the only guides. Here communal representation means representation of a certain religious sect, i. e., Muhammadanism.

not representation of a certain community, such as, European or Armenian. Do not forget that.

Now what do the lessons of history teach us. In no country in the world, in no age, history tells us, has communal representation on a religious basis been recognized. Islam never recognized it. In the Roman Empire, for the first time in the history of man, were granted civic rights as they are now understood. Romans, Greeks, Jews, Muhammadans, Christians, and Pagans, who had the rights of Roman citizenship had all equal rights and there was no communal representation for a thousand years of the empire of Rome. Then came the idea of State religion in the countries of Europe and with it religious disabilities of all nonconformists. When Roman Catholics were in power, they refused political rights and places to Protestants, and when the Protestants became predominant they did the same towards Roman Catholics. The struggle to free civic rights from being tied to the chariot wheels of the fanatical religious idea of subordinating reason and every temporal matter to the imperative dictates of revealed books, as understood by various sectarians, first began with the jurists of the Netherlands, Grotius, and other great writers. The encyclopaedists of France and the great Revolution completed the work and man was freed from the nightmare of religious fanaticism which had drenched Europe in blood in the name of uniformity of religion. Are you aware this linking together of civic rights with sectarian religion was the cause

of the emigration of the Pilgrim Fathers and the founding of the great republic of America? Are you aware the question again arose when the federal constitution was debated there? President Adams said:—

"Religious discord has lost her stings; the cumbersome weapons of theological warfare are antiquated. Our age is too enlightened to contend upon topics which concern only the interests of eternity. At this day, religious indulgence is one of our clearest duties, because it is one of our undisputed rights".

Alexander Hamilton, one of the greatest statesmen and orators of America, said;—

"We are convinced that popular assemblies are frequently misguided by ignorance, by sudden impulses, and the intrigues of ambitious men; and that some firm barrier against these operations is necessary. What we apprehend is that some sinister prejudice, or some prevailing passion may assume the form of a genuine interest".

He was of opinion that "the local interests of a State ought in every case to give way to the interest of the Union." We, too, are afraid of some sinister prejudice, of some prevailing passion. When we accept self-government as understood in Europe and America, we must adopt its basic principle that we agree to meet and act together for our secular welfare and must not allow the imperative claims of spiritual revealed rules to intervene in any way in civic matters. If we allow representation

by religious sectaries there is an end of all civic rights, to establish which Europe and America had to wade through a sea of blood. I bring to your mind the revolutions of France, the fight for the removal of religious disabilities in England and the bloody revolution in Russia. Last of all, I bring to your mind the distressful story of Ireland. Do you know why that country is being devastated by internal dissensions? It is the same claim of separate electorates and separate representation and separate parliaments. Please do not travel by the path which is sure to lead to dissensions and bloodshed. We want a civic State in India freed from the fetters of religious prejudice. The modern State cannot entertain the validity of the imperativeness of the commands of the Vedas or of the Koran, say, on the question of cow-slaughter, on which my Muhammadan brethren are perhaps justly apprehensive. Let us be guided by the experience of nations. Wherever the claims of religions and sects were allowed to intervene in matters of civic and political administration, they led to bloodshed. Modern Europe and America have laid down that such claims are inadmissible. Separate electorates of sects on religious grounds are nowhere found. Let Mr. Syed Nasim Ali and his friends follow the salutary rule laid down by them, namely, the rule of experience of the human race.

Again, Sir, I am one of those men who are convinced that in the near future the population of Bengal will be preponderatingly Muhammadan. We,

poor Hindu of Bengal, on account of our dissensions and shortsightedness and our inferior physique, are fast dying out. At the present moment the Muhammadans are not as educated as Hindus and there are a larger number of rich people among Hindus than among Muhammadans, though the great mass of Muhammadans of Bengal are better off than the mass of Hindu population. Knowing what our ultimate fate would be, I am very anxious that our Muhammadan brethren should cultivate pro-Hindu feelings. If the Muhammadan members of local bodies be elected by Muhammadans only, only anti-Hindu Muhammadans may be elected. But if we Hindus, who will soon be in a minority, have a hand in electing Muhammadan members, Muhammadan candidates will all cultivate friendly feelings towards Hindu. For pity towards us the Muhammadan members should give up all exclusiveness. In East Bengal and North Bengal even now the Hindus are at the mercy of the Muhammadans, and we Hindus, require special seats allotted for us. I hope that already belated relief to Hindus will soon be given to them. But in that case if I am here (I am not very anxious to be here) I shall certainly oppose communal representation for Hindus as I am to-day opposing communal representation for Muhammadans. The Bengali nation that will be evolved in the near future will be Muhammadan with a leaven of Hindus. The Hindu leaven should not be isolated by my Muhammadan brethren, but it should be allowed to mix and make a splendid

political body. My Muhammadan friends are all looking to Arabia and Turkey. But is not Bengal, Sijala, Sufala, Milayaja Shitala, better than those countries? Are not the Bengali Hindus more intelligent, more spiritual, more gentle, and withal, more lovable, more desirable neighbours than Kabulis and Habshis? Let my Muhammadan brethren remember how we have been living amicably together for generations. The great majority of them were originally Hindus. Please assimilate the ancient Hindu culture. Be not like Buktiaur Khilji who burned the great library at Odantpur or Bihar, because there was no Koran. Blood is thicker than water, blood is more potent than the traditions of Arabia. Let us form one great nation. Exclusiveness will prevent that consummation so devoutly to be wished for, communal representation means exclusiveness. Communal representation means election of men, who in the clash of Hindu and Muhammadan ideals would be against Hindu ideals. Educated Muhammadan with liberal ideals will have no chance they will be nowhere. Already there are signs that all liberal culture, association with modern science and modern philosophy, is not quite fashionable. I say with pain that even among Hindu so-called nationalists, liberal culture is at a discount. It is no wonder that among Khilafatists, in the reawakening of Islam, Western culture and liberal ideals, as prevalent in modern Europe, will be at a discount. Notwithstanding the apparent entente the clash will soon come, for orthodox Hindu and orthodox Muhammadan ideals, it must

be admitted, are conflicting. They must be reconciled by modern liberal ideas. They are the only means by which a united nation can be formed.

• According to modern political ideas, communal representation is inadmissible. It is no argument to say that it has been allowed in Council elections. It is not defensible on principle and is impolitic and harmful. But surely though there may be some plausible grounds in the case of Councils, which have to decide between conflicting political and other rights, there can be no ground whatsoever for separate electorates in municipal matters. Sanitation, good water, good roads, clean drains are neither, Muhammadan nor Hindu. All are equally interested in matters municipal. Even in the case of Councils, I must say, in the words of Daniel O'Connell, "the present system disavowed by liberalized Europe, disclaimed by sound reason, abhorred by genuine religion, must soon and for ever be abolished."*

* There was violent opposition to the Calcutta Municipality Bill when it was first introduced because there was no provision for communal representation of Muhammadans. That opposition was defeated mainly by the efforts of Roy Bahadur Jogendra Chunder Ghose and Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee. The latter however changed his opinion and in the Select Committee the Muhammadan members had their way. The above speech was delivered when the matter came for discussion in the Council which finally passed the provision.—Ed.

REGULATION OF COW SLAUGHTER

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur.— The realities of life cannot be ignored. There is only one live question in India and that is the cow question. It has rankled in the hearts of the Hindu population for 800 years. Is there no statesman here who can find a means of reconciliation between these two contending parties and bring peace to this distracted land? When Mr. S. Mahboob Ali moved his amendment omitting only the word "prevent", I thought that there was a means of reconciliation, but communal feeling was too strong for him and he withdrew it. Sir, I am here to give expression to the very deep feeling which is rankling in the hearts of everybody, I myself do not attach any religious significance to the question of cow-slaughter, but the feeling is there, a feeling which cannot be ignored. If there were a Muhammadan Emperor here, a wise Emperor like Akbar, who prohibited cow-slaughter throughout his dominions, he would prohibit it; the Amir of Kabul did it, the Nizam of Hyderabad has done it, and I believe, if Sir Abdur-Rahim or Nawab Bahadur or Mr. Syed Nasim Ali were made the Nawab of Bengal, they would prohibit it. When responsibility comes then comes the desire for reconciliation. But when people are irresponsible and only want to seek their own interests, to support their own religious prejudice then this question does not trouble them.

Having said this, I now discuss it from an economic point of view. It has been amply proved that milk is sold at two seers for the rupee because there are no cows. It is an absolute falsehood to say that beef is the staple food of the Muhammadans of Bengal; it is not. The large body of Muhammadans never touch it except on festive occasions; but speaking of the Calcutta Municipality; speaking of the great body of Muhammadans, why do you say it is the staple food of Muhammadans?

Why do you say beef is the staple food of Muhammadans in general? It is not. [A voice: We had a lot of trouble.] Speaking of Calcutta, it will be a source of very great trouble very soon. The Muhammadan and Hindu cultivators sell their cattle in thousands in the Calcutta market, because they cannot resist the temptation of a little cash money. Prime cows, calves and every sort of saleable cattle is sold to the detriment of the entire people. Who will suffer? The cultivators. And who are the cultivators? 80 per cent of the Muhammadans of this country. They are the best judges; take their opinion, and you will know how much they suffer on account of the loss of cattle. When there is an outbreak of rinderpest, they suffer.

What I say is this: Cows and bullocks are brought to Calcutta in tens of thousands and sold for cash money and the people in the mufassal suffer. It is a very clear proposition and cannot be gainsaid. Why should you not consider this question from a broad

point of view; why should you bring in religious prejudice and antipathy? We have had enough it for the last 800 years, get rid of it for once in your life.*

* The amendment for provision of power of regulating cow-slaughter for which Mr Ghose fought was lost.—Ed.

COMPETITIVE EXAMINATION.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur :—I move " that this Council recommends to the Government that appointments to the provincial executive service and the subordinate executive service be made by competitive examination from among Bengali graduates, with such qualification as may secure such proportion of Muhammadan, Domiciled European and Anglo-Indian, and Indian Christian recruits as may seem proper to the Government without impairing the efficiency of the service."*

Competitive examination for the Government services is the very foundation of democracy. Autocracy and favouritism go together. The privileged classes get appointments by nomination while the young and intelligent young men, who have got good education but no patrons, have no chance of securing them. So the reform that is essential now is that the services should go to the very best men, and that can be secured only by means of competitive examination. We know that the Civil Service will be recruited by competitive examination this year in India, and there is no reason why the provincial services should not be recruited by the same method. I understand that that Government itself is willing to introduce the system of competitive examination as a

* The depressed-classes were also added by the mover after Christian Christian.—Ed.

means of admission into the Public Services. Lord Ronaldshay said so before he went away and I hope that our present Governor will kindly accede to our request for the introduction of competitive examination. That is all that I have got to say on this subject.

The resolution was carried and has been given effect to—Ed,

ON THE RESOLUTION FOR DISPOSING OF APPOINTMENTS BY A COMMITTEE AND NOT BY COMPETITIVE EXAMINATION.

Roy Jogendra Chandra Gbosc Babadur :—It is not at all pleasant for me to say anything which might be construed as going against the interests of the Muhammadans; but this resolution before you is one which takes a man's breath away. The mover asks to do away with competitive examination. Is that the way in which we are to conduct business here? We had passed a resolution by an overwhelming majority, I may say almost by the unanimous vote of this Council and Government have already taken action upon it. Now against that, Sir, what is this that every appointment at the disposal, of the Government of Bengal should be made by a committee? Should the head of the department have no voice in the matter? Is this the way in which the business should be conducted? Favouritism has ruined my fellow-countrymen—the Muhammadans, I know that as a matter of fact 20 years ago the Bar was strongly represented by the Muhammadan community and my friend, Maulvi Serajul Islam and other Muhammadan lawyers were the shining lights who held their own against the best Hindu pleaders. But now what do we find? On account of the backstairs influence there are only two or three men in the Bar. It is not necessary to say any thing further.

The resolution was lost.—Ed.

MIDDLE CLASS UNEMPLOYMENT

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose :—I am glad that Rai Radha Charan Pal Bahadur has brought this question before this House. It is a question of great economic and also social importance. This is a matter in which I have worked and thought all my life and it goes to my heart that my unfortunate class are the principal sufferers and it is for them that my friend has moved this motion. We, Brahmins, Kaisthas and Baidyas, for a hundred generations have done nothing but employed ourselves in reading and writing and in accountancy. We were employed in the learned professions under the Hindu regime, under the Muhammadan regime and also under the British regime. Caste favoured us. We have not been untrue to our past intellectual accomplishments. We have been in the very vanguard of intellectual advancement of this country and we have got our graduates by tens of thousands, but how can we find employment for so many, and the worst of it is this. The other classes, the trading class, the agricultural class and other classes under the fair and impartial regime of the British Government have come to the colleges and become our competitors, and thus it is that we are going down we cannot get proper employment now.

If we had the old system, the old social system, among us, then we would have been much better off

but the old social system must crumble down before the democratic ideas of the British regime, and thus it is that we are going down. It has been very justly said that industry, agriculture, and commerce are more important than even education, and why should not people employ themselves in industry, agriculture and commerce? Why should everybody go to the colleges? Why should the sons of Rai Radha Charan Pal Bahadur compete with my poor sickly boys there and for Government nomination for offices? The Marwari gentlemen of little education are the rulers of Calcutta to-day, and I am sure that my friend Rai Radha Charan Pal Bahadur may also be a ruler among men, a prince among merchants and traders, but let him not compete with us in the matter of employments requiring education. That is a great difficulty in our way and I mean no offence to him: let him impartially consider this matter and let the so called lower castes and classes be like the Marwaris and let them remember that the main interest of the country remains in agriculture, trade, commerce and industry, and not in the colleges, schools and law classes and Government service. Let the Bhadrologi classes also remember that and take to other than clerkly and the like callings. Let them also remember that the advantages of caste they shall have to forego. Therefore, I submit that this matter is not only a great economic question but a great social question and as such it should be considered.

SEPERATION OF THE JUDICIAL AND THE EXECUTIVE.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur moved: "This Council recommends to the Government that the separation of the judicial and the executive functions in the administration should be carried out without any delay, if possible, by dividing the members of the provincial service into two classes of Deputy Magistrates and Deputy Collectors, the former exercising only judicial powers in Criminal cases and appellate powers of the Magistrate being exercised by senior Deputy Magistrates from whom Assistant Sessions Judges and Sessions Judges should partly be recruited."

The evils of the present system have been described by my two predecessors and I need not dilate on them. They are admitted by every body, but there is an element of doubt and suspicion in it which must be mentioned. It is said that the separation would entail large increase in expenditure. I do not believe it. The proposals that I make in my resolution make it clear that there will be no additional expenditure, but the real question is not expenditure—the real question is the prestige of the District Officer. I fully appreciate that the District Magistrate should have great prestige to enable him to keep the disorderly elements of his district in order. It is therefore necessary that he should have certain

powers for dealing with cases under sections 107 and 145 and certain other penal powers in criminal cases. I am not willing to derogate in the least from the prestige of the District Magistrate. That is the most serious question in this matter, that the prestige and powers of the District Magistrate should not be diminished; consistently with that this division can yet be made. What I propose is this. There are many districts now in which the District Magistrates should remain the head of the district but their powers for dealing with cases under sections 107 and 145 should be vested in either a European Joint Magistrate or a Senior Deputy Magistrate. In most cases there will be a European Joint Magistrate, but in many districts the Senior Deputy Magistrate will exercise these powers. Even now, if the District Magistrate can be an Indian, there can be no objection to the Senior Deputy Magistrate exercising these powers. Therefore, I say that the division should be so made that the powers of the District Magistrate and of the Government should in no way be impaired, and I believe, that it can be so made that the powers of District Magistrates and of the executive Government would not be impaired.. The British Government here have established a system of judiciary for administering justice in a form of purity which was not known to India before; and I say that that purity of justice should be kept intact. The great glory of England is its administration of pure and impartial justice and that should be maintained. People have got a

suspicion that the District Magistrate exercises a power over his subordinates which does not lead to purity of justice. Therefore, it is the duty of Government to disabuse the public mind of that prejudice or of that apprehension. I beg to submit that every effort should be made by Government to separate these two functions consistently, so far as possible, with the prestige of the Magistrate and of good Government in this country, .

There were several resolutions to the above effect one of which was carried —Ed

ON CARRYING OUT THE RECOMMENDATION FOR
THE SEPARATION OF THE JUDICIAL AND
THE EXECUTIVE.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose :—I beg to support the demand for the immediate carrying out of the recommendations of the Government Committee for the separation of the judicial and executive functions. The Council passed a resolution to that effect. Government gave effect to that resolution and appointed a Committee presided over by so distinguished a Judge as the Hon'ble Mr. Justice Greaves. That Committee has made its report. Why should there be any delay in giving effect to the recommendations of that Committee? If there is one thing which the people of this country feel more than any other it is this vicious system by which justice has been polluted in this country. Sir, I say this demand is universal in Bengal. Is there any man who is opposed to it? I say there is no such man. Why should not the Government give effect to this universal demand of the people? Sir, as I said before, thousands of men have suffered grievous injustice in consequence of this vicious system. The fountain of justice has been polluted and no man's honour is safe—no man's liberty is safe. Why should not the Government accede to the wishes of the people in this matter? An eminent English Judge, who was appointed to preside

over this Committee, has recommended that this should take place immediately. I venture to say in no country in the world, however autocratic the Government might have been, would this demand not have been acceded to. Now Sir, what are the difficulties in the way ? The Committee has placed the preventive sections of the Criminal Procedure Act under the jurisdiction of the Magistrate. Why should the Government or any other person be anxious that the administration of ordinary justice be not placed under the judiciary of the country ? Why should it be under the executive ? There is no reason—no conceivable reason—why this should be so. Now the only question that remains to be settled is the question of finance. Those gentlemen who have supported this motion fought shy of the Rs. 450,000 which the Committee say will be required. Rupees 4,50,000 for the better administration of justice in Bengal is a very small sum. And I am surprised that any one here can object to it. Government can spend lakhs and crores of rupees to increase the salaries of their officers. We, the people of Bengal, are demanding pure justice for an expenditure of Rs. 4,50,000. Is that too much ? Sir, our demand must be met. We have waited long for it—waited for over 50 years. Our heart is sick of waiting. We can wait no more and this demand must be met.

GOONDAS BILL

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur:— In the absence of Rai Mahendra Chandra Mitra Bahadur I beg to move, with your permission, the amendment which stands in his name, viz.—

“That clause 5(2) (c) be omitted.”

This clause runs as follows:—

“The advising Judges shall not be bound to observe the rules of evidence and shall not permit the putting of any question which may endanger the safety of any individual.”

As regards the latter part, there may not be much objection, but the first part is absolutely indefensible. We have been told to-day that the trial under the Bill is not to be a legal trial. Therefore pleaders cannot be engaged. Now, Sir, there are certain elementary things which ought to be remembered in this connection

The Goonda is after all a human being having the rights of a British subject. You are aware that the British Habeas Corpus Act applies to the citizens of Calcutta. The Goonda Act will apply both to Englishmen and to Indians. There are European Goondas in Calcutta. Will any Englishman agree that there shall be a permanent law abrogating the Habeas Corpus Act? The right to be tried openly in a court of justice was secured by the Great Charter on the memorable 15th of June, 1215. It declared

against all tyrants that "no free man shall be seized or imprisoned or dispossessed or outlawed or in any way brought to ruin; we will not go against any man nor send against him save by legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land. To no man will we deny justice." To no man, says the sovereign of the British Empire, "will we deny justice." The Star Chamber that was established, which practically overrode the Charter, was abolished by the revolution in England. The defence of the realm in a time of war may for a time lead to extraordinary procedure for punishment and deportation. A few Goondas in the town of Calcutta are not such a menace to the State that for them the great principles of liberty and justice should be jeopardized. There are Goondas in every city in Europe, and they are infinitely more dangerous than the Goondas of Calcutta. Before the bold feats of European Goondas the acts of the Calcutta Goonda are tame and cowardly. But nowhere have such drastic measures been employed. These are considered necessary in Calcutta on account of the supineness of the police. The Government before the Reforms would not do this. The Reformed Council of the so-called representatives of the people is required to do it. We should refuse to be parties to this procedure. This is practically giving the power to the police to deport any suspected or disagreeable person to be got rid of. Why, I ask, should not an accused person be entitled to produce witnesses? Why should he not be allowed to engage pleaders to protect him against

perjury? Why should he not be tried in open court and allowed to cross-examine witnesses? Why should not the rules of relevancy of evidence apply to him? This is denying to him the right of trial. This is denying to him the right to justice. Sir, I know, and everyone here knows, that no man here is safe against perjurers and forgerers that reign supreme in the land. I know, and everybody knows to his own cost, that no family is safe, no character is safe, the honour of no man or woman, however noble, is safe in this country. False evidence and rumours set about by malicious men hold the day. The most powerful novel of modern Bengal, the "Pallisamaj," vividly describes the life-tragedies of innocent men and pure women whose characters are blasted by false evidence. In this state of things to leave the honour and character of men in the custody of the police officer and the police informer would be suicidal. I know how even trials in courts of law lead to grave injustice in a large number of cases. But still there is some safety. Here there will be none. Goondas are few in number. The up-country Goondas will soon go underground. But our countrymen, have against the first intentions of the Government Bill, which only dealt with up-country men, brought in here Bengalis also within the meshes of this drastic law—law it is not—it is merely an unlawful despotic regulation. It will bring many innocent men to grief, I am sure. All safeguards should be provided to avoid the perpetration of grave injustice to our fellowmen. I therefore strongly recom-

mend this Council to reject the lawless procedure contained in this section by rejecting it altogether. We shall refuse to be dealt with other than as British subjects with the right to open trial and justice enjoyed by British citizens in England.

I ought to draw the attention of the Government to section 491 of the Criminal Procedure Code, which embodies the provisions of the Habeas Corpus Act, that unless and until this Act is specially excluded from its operation, as the State Prisoners Act and other similar Acts and regulations are specifically excluded, the Act will have no effect. The Criminal Procedure Code shall have first to be amended.

The motion was lost.—Ed.

SPECIAL CONSTABLES.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur :—I move that "this Council recommends to the Government that the appointment as special constables be not made by way of punishment to a political offender or for political opinions."

Section 17 of Act V of 1861 lays down that "when it shall appear that any unlawful assembly, etc., has taken place, . . . it shall be lawful for any police officer, not below the rank of inspector, to apply to the nearest magistrate to appoint so many of the residents of the neighbourhood, as such police officer may require, to act as special police officers, for such time and within such limits as he shall deem necessary; and the Magistrate to whom such application is made shall, unless he sees cause to the contrary, comply with the application." Therefore, this is a section which empowers the police and the Magistrate in case of riots and disorders to employ special constables as a mark of confidence and honour, and not as was done during the German war when all persons whose political opinions were not agreeable to the Government were put in as soldiers and sent to the front. I do not wish to discuss the matter further as it may be disagreeable as I understand the Hon'ble Member in charge does

not think that these appointments should be made by way of punishment to political offenders or for political opinions and that he will agree to it. In that view it is not necessary to rake up old matters of which the newspapers of Bengal are full.

The resolution was not accepted by the Government specifically but it was carried.—Ed.

ABOLITION OF FLOGGING IN JAIL.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur:— I beg to support this resolution. It is not a very easy thing. The question is how is jail discipline to be preserved. How is contumacy in the prisons to be prevented? I wish some of the speakers here had pointed out to the Government the way in which these breaches of discipline may be avoided. I do hope that Government will find some means by which that can be done without having recourse to flogging or, as it has been mentioned in the resolution, 'whipping. Punishment in ancient times was barbarous. Prisoners were regarded as slaves and beasts having no rights whatsoever. Jailors had full power over their body. They were lodged in dark rooms and flogged and punished in various ways, but the dignity of the human race has asserted itself and it would no longer brook indignities even from the King. Indignities even to the criminals are not tolerated. Therefore, sir, for the dignity of the human race this form of punishment should be abolished. I am quite sure some means will be found to preserve discipline in the jails, but whipping is reminiscent of the ancient barbaric custom, reminiscent of the times—when man was considered as a slave and a beast—when the dignity of man, who is a receptacle of the Divine Light, was never appreciated. Sir, man is not a beast and, therefore, he should not be put to any indignity.

The resolution for the abolition of flogging in jails was carried.—Ed.

ON DISQUALIFICATION FOR VIOLATION OF THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur:— I was prepared to accept clause 34A as it stood before. The amendment accepted by the Hon'ble the Minister puts a very different complexion upon the matter. The note of explanation—"A person who by constitutional means endeavours to make changes in the constitution shall not be deemed to have thereby violated the oath of allegiance and of adherence to the constitution"—was a perfect safeguard. That safeguard having been removed I have no option but to support the Kumar Sahib's amendment. This explanation and the other provision must have been inserted in the section by the better judgment of the Hon'ble the Minister, but I do not know why he takes away the safeguard now. Clause 37(*an*) says "declared by the Local Government, by notification in the Calcutta Gazette, to have violated his oath of allegiance." The Hon'ble the Minister says "the Local Government " means "the Minister in charge." I have studied the provisions of the regulation and I do not read it in that way. In these political matters I believe, the entire Executive Council, including the Minister also, will be the Local Government with the Governor at its head. Therefore the argument that

the Minister in charge is responsible to us whom we can dismiss is bad (The Minister here interposes and affirms the contrary).

As regards political matters I shall be very loath to accept the dictum of the Hon'ble the minister, and furthermore, I know even the Minister in charge is not amenable to us and is not responsible to us. We are in a great minority. He has got men at his back, Europeans and Indians, who not only support him but insult us.

I submit that argument of the Hon'ble the Minister that he is responsible to us and we can dismiss him does not hold water. Now, sir, this clause as it stands is against all principles of law—"is declared by the local Government, by notification in the Calcutta Gazette, to have violated his oath of allegiance is against public policy." No man, however criminal he may be, can be proceeded against in this fashion without a trial at the sweet pleasure of, say the Minister in charge. What guarantee is there that he has been rightly declared to have violated his oath of allegiance? Will he be given a chance for explaining his conduct? Will he be able to adduce evidence that he is not guilty? It is worse than the Star Chamber. I say this is wholly indefensible in law. No such procedure is known in this country according to the best traditions of our law courts. Why introduce this arbitrary measure here? Even in the case of Goondas when you declare a person to be a Goonda you have a tribunal to judge him whether he is a Goonda or not. Here who is to judge that a

person has violated his oath of allegiance? The Local Government and the Minister! A person who has violated his oath of allegiance has been placed in a worse position than a Goonda. This is wholly indefensible, specially after the omission of the explanation to clause 34A.

The amendment which Mr. Ghose supported was lost.—Ed.

MR. MONTAGUE'S RESIGNATION.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur— I beg to move that "this Council recommends to the Government that a message be sent to Mr. Montagu expressing the Council's deep regret at his resignation and its high appreciation of his services to the cause of Indian progress and liberty which will be remembered with affection and gratitude by the people of Bengal."

A great friend of India has fallen. Mr. Montagu's resignation, I am sorry to find, is not deplored by the extremist and even by many moderate papers and was fiercely acclaimed, as Reuter tells us, by a large section of the British Parliament. He did not please the extremists in England and India, and indeed even the so-called moderates in India. The British people ought to infer from this fact that Mr. Montagu did his duty impartially and fearlessly. The people of India have not yet appreciated what a great friend they have lost. We owe the Reforms to him and we, the members of the Council, are here because of him. Surely as yet the country has not derived much substantial benefit from them. But he who runs may see that the Council have developed a spirit of independence which would have astonished any one 5 years ago. Their resolutions about the release of political prisoners is an instance. Our first acts in this

Council were repeated defeats of the Government. I am one of those men who have doubted the wisdom of the action of this Council on many an occasion and am of opinion that if we were not swayed by opinion outside the Council we might have prevented many unwise and dangerous activities. But the fact remains that powers have been given to the representatives of the people which are very great and which have come to be regarded as dangerous by a large section of the British people, and we see from the papers that even Lord Chelmsford, the joint author of the Reforms, has declared the dyarchy as horrible. Mr. Montagu asserted on Sunday last that he has invested India with dominion status. The people of India, as represented in these Councils have surely for the first time, been invested with some, though not many, of the political rights, which the people of Europe could acquire only by bloody revolutions and untold suffering. This new liberty we owe solely to one man. The blood of a noble ancient Asiatic race courses through his veins and is coloured crimson with his heart's sympathy with the aspirations of the ancient peoples of Asia. Is it to be wondered at that he has some sympathy for Islam? Is it to be wondered at that he sympathizes with the thousand-year old degradation of a race even more ancient than his own which boasts of a higher civilization and higher intellectual achievements and a nobler philosophy than any other race of antiquity? He also probably remembered that the common blood which runs

through the veins of the Indian Aryan and those of the modern European has been the cause of the present-day intellectual greatness of the latter. Mr. Montagu wanted to take the people of this ancient land by the hand and give them freedom. He wanted them to attain the fullest political freedom in the shortest time possible. There are two paths of freedom before the people of India. The first is by the immediate subversion of the British Raj by force of arms or by mass disobedience. The second is by ordered progress in *Pax Britannica* in which the warring races and creeds, whose ancient feud rends asunder this distressful country, would fuse into a harmonious whole by the infusion of modern science and modern liberal ideas. Mr. Montagu thought the former led to disaster and ruin. There is a large section of the people of this country who were impatient and desired to force the pace, and in their anxiety favoured the former course and have probably now seen the unwisdom of their conduct. There were great dangers before Mr. Montagu. He has sacrificed himself to his zeal for us. He took his courage in both hands and trusted the people, he desired to serve, to stand by him and back him in his efforts and not to destroy the good work of his hand. There are undoubted defects in his system. But it is the first gift of real liberty. His work is now endangered by the impatience of some. We who mourn his downfall must remember our duty to our friend, which coincides with our duty to our country. There are times

of difficulty and danger before us. We should face the situation with wisdom and calm courage. Let not the applause of the unthinking and desire for notoriety or place or leadership take us from the middle course. I must recognize the fact that we who are here to-day are not the best representatives of the people of Bengal which our Governor-designate has declared to be the home of the intelligentsia and the cradle of ideas of freedom in India. We must recognize our unworthiness but we are still the custodians of the liberty and the welfare of this country. Let us not be dismayed by signs and portents. Let us not go from one extreme of abject submission to the other extreme of unreasoning opposition. Let us be true to ourselves and to our country. Let us realize our responsibility. Let us honour our friend whom circumstances have deprived us by so acting in the best interests of the country as to justify his action in giving us liberty, and let us not give to his and our enemies the excuse they seek. He declared last Sunday in his defence that he believed in the people of India. Let us not belief his trust.

The motion was carried.—Ed.

RETIREMENT OF SIR SAMSUL HUDA.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur:—I beg to move "that this Council recommends to the Government to place on record the Council's deep regret at the untimely retirement of its President, the Hon'ble Nawab Sir Syed Shams-ul-Huda, K. C. I. B. on account of ill-health and that a message be conveyed to him of the Council's sympathy and sense of loss at his retirement."

It is a matter of deep regret that the first, President of this Council has had to retire only after one year of his term of office. But this one year has been a very important year. This Council has been found fault with by the ultra-loyalists and extremists, and also by the Government and Ministerialists. The fact only shows that it has done its work fairly and impartially. During this one year much useful work has been done. If the large measures for the welfare of the people of this country passed by this Council have not yet been given effect to, the fault does not lie at its door. But they must be given effect to to-day or to-morrow. The obstructionists need not chuckle nor the extremists point the finger of scorn at the Council for its impotence. The Council has had to face great difficulties on account of the political turmoil in the country. All these difficulties have been faced and great work has been done, and for this, the credit greatly lies with the

President. Strong, fair and impartial, Sir Syed Shams-ul-Huda steered straight our frail bark in the new unknown sea of political freedom, buffeted by storms of violent and non-violent faction, with singular ability. We have every reason to remember with gratitude that on the very first day of this Council on the resolution about medical relief, when the mover was assailed on all sides, and the supporters of the resolution were dumb with dismay at the uproar, Sir Syed Shams-ul-Huda, though a Government nominee, gauged the opinion of the majority aright, and declared to the astonishment of all that the Ayes had it. His verdict was immediately questioned by the Minister a demand for a division. The division by an overwhelming majority proved that the President was right. I feel that most of our great men would have given way to the clamour. I thank God on that day that the Chair was occupied by a good and strong man. Sir Syed Shams-ul-Huda has been a good and strong man all his life. I have worked with him for 30 years as pleader, municipal commissioner, Fellow of the University, and I say, without fear of contradiction, that in all walks of life, he displayed rare ability, fairness and independence. He was the power behind the throne when he was a member of the Executive Council. He resigned the municipal commissionership with us, and the *Sanjibani* wrote of him as the banner of the race of Sayyids. The descendants of the Prophet of Arabia have produced great and fearless men and humble men also, for will you believe that Sir Syed Shams-ul-

Huda worked for some time as my Assistant Secretary in the Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education of Indians ? He was for every good work. The Council and the country have, by his retirement, lost a great leader who would have led it to good. I express the sentiment of everyone of my countrymen that we earnestly desire that Sir Syed Shams-ul-Huda may regain his health and strength, and lead aright in the middle path the Muhammadans of this province, and establish the unity of Hindus and Muhammadans on the sure basis of equality of culture and fellow-feeling as neighbours who inhabit a great and beautiful country, greater and more beautiful than Arabia and Persia, and all the countries over which the Caliphs in their glory ruled, and who have become participators of a culture which, it must be confessed, is higher than the culture of Ujjayani or Bagdad.

It was the general idea that Sir Syed Shams-ul-Huda was an enemy of mine who snubbed me frequently and unreasonably. His health was ruined and his power of hearing was impaired. I should have remembered and never resented. Was he not the man who, while a member of the Executive Council, wrote of this humble person much below him, a mere pleader of not much distinction, that he was "one who has done more than any other to advance the cause of this poor country"?

These were the words of a man who felt so deeply for his unfortunate country, that he was

inclined to exaggerate every service for it. Was he not again the man who protected every member here against unthinking attacks and impertinences of the great as well as the small? Sir Syed Shams-ul-Huda has, on a hundred occasions, showed that as a true descendant of the Prophet, he was no respecter of persons and was above all, just even to his enemies. Unless a man can be just to his opponents and enemies he cannot be fearless. Nor can a man be just unless he is fearless. Sir Syed Shams-ul-Huda was just and fearless. Such a man is rare in every country.

ON THE BUDGET OF 1922.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur :—I am very sorry, Sir, to say that I am disappointed at the Budget presented to us. The Government also say they are sorry. I am afraid that their sorrows are like the sorrows of Werther greatly self-created though aggravated by circumstances over which they have no control. A recurring increase of more than Rs. 3½ lakhs in the salaries of European officers, as disclosed in the Hon'ble Mr. Kerr's reply last Thursday, which was a piece of great injustice, led to pangs of conscience and sentimentality on the part of the Government and of this Council and it led to the increase of something like Rs. 80 lakhs a year in the salaries of the ministerial officers and *paraharawallas* and other menials. The Government have been fully aware that they are in desperate straits. But nevertheless they have added to the burdens of the poor people of Bengal by an additional recurring expenditure of over Rs. 80 lakhs a year in increase of salaries on the delusive hope that the Meston award would be set aside and the Government of India would give them all they want. Now we know the Government of India has a financial deficit of Rs. 31 crores and every provincial Government is in as great difficulty as we. We read in this morning's papers that the Government has declared in the Council of State that almost all the

Provinces would get some relief next year but not Bengal. To increase our recurring expenditure on such delusions, as relief from the Government of India, is criminal folly. Three new taxes are about to be imposed and a large loan is proposed to be floated, and I am sure that having regard to the huge deficit of the Government of India, Bengal must have to pay another extra tax. We are told that every attempt has been made at retrenchment. What we find is that every indispensable expenditure affecting the vital interests of the people has been cut down. The following statement will abundantly prove my position.

The very first reduction we find is that of Rs. 1,52,000, because of all omission of all provisions for improvements and development of one of the most important and paying of our departments, namely, Forests, of the possibilities of which we have lately heard so much from the Government.

The next reduction is in the matter of loans under Land Improvement and Agriculturists' Loans Acts and loans to Co-operative Societies of about Rs. 10 lakhs, Rs. 15 lakhs being the figure for 1920, Rs. 18 lakhs 40 thousand for 1921-22 and Rs 8 lakhs for 1923.

Another reduction is of Rs. 2 lakhs for costs of settlement proceedings by putting off survey operations already begun and incurring loss and by postponing these proceedings in some districts, though it is admitted that these proceedings are of vital im-

portance for the protection of the rights of tenants and though the amount to be recovered from these proceedings this year is estimated at Rs. 22 lacs.

There have been no new agricultural farms established, and there has been retrenchment in the matter of distribution of improved paddy and jute seeds.

In education we find, that in the matter of secondary schools in the transferred department, the grant in 1921-22 was Rs. 19 lakhs and this year it is Rs. 18 lakhs, and in the matter of primary schools the total grant last year was Rs. 12 lakhs 70 thousand and this year it is Rs. 11 lakhs 40 thousand a decrease of Rs. 1 lakh 30 thousand. The grant for secondary and primary schools is Rs. 42 lakhs, but the direction and inspection cost about Rs. 13 lakhs. The reins seem to be more costly than the horse. This is unsatisfactory in the extreme and the increase in this matter is still more unsatisfactory.

As regard the University we have to tell a woeful tale. The Calcutta University is practically bankrupt. The grant proposed is Rs. 1,41,000 including Rs. 13,000 for supervision. Whereas to the university of Dacca with its practically handful of students, very few of whom are Munammadans, a grant of Rs. 9 lakhs is proposed. Comment on this is unnecessary. The secondary boards have not yet been constituted, notwithstanding the resolution of this Council, and the high schools are as badly off as before.

There has been an increase of Rs 2 lakhs 24 thousand on account of travelling and residence allowance of members of Council and other expenses for Legislative Council, which must in consequence be considered by the people as a very expensive and unnecessary and selfish institution. Its standing committees have all, we are told, proposed additional expenditure and they themselves have proved very costly.

There has been an increase of Rs. 10 lakhs in the expenditure under heading "Stationary and Printing."

I want an explanation why there has been a fall in the sale of timber from the Sunderbans. There must be something wrong.

Again I am not satisfied that the expectation of increase of Rs. 8 lakhs over the actuals of last year in Excise is justified.

We want an explanation why about Rs. 1½ lakhs have been put down for a new scheme for the Grand Trunk Canal as justly pointed out by Colonel Pugh. Does our bankrupt Government still intend to go on with this extravagant project which may cost Rs. 6 crores?

I should say a few words more in particular about education. The university is going on in its wasteful and generally considered jobbing ways in spite of the resolutions of this Council. We have to find money for the most unpopular of bodies, namely, the Senate, and the Council resolution about reforming the constitution has not yet been given

effect to. Colonel Pugh justly complained yesterday that no attempt has been made to give effect to the recommendations of the Sadler Commission. Our Minister has forgotten that he has only one and a half year of the tenure of his office left. The Dacca University has been given Rs. 9 lakhs a year for what good purpose Heaven only knows. It is said that it is to recompense for annulling the partition the Muhammadans of East Bengal. But it has benefited very little Muhammadans. There are not a hundred Muhammadan boys there. The Calcutta University is being actually starved to death. Is it good policy to allow the premier University in Asia to go floundering in its way without putting it right and starving it to death ?

Furthermore, Sir, the Government has ignored the resolutions of the Council and flouted at us in a fashion which no self-respecting public body should tolerate. We passed resolutions for medical relief and supply of drinking water to the poor people of the mufassal and I am told we must wait for the big loan.. In the meantime Rs. 5 lakhs have been provided for the new medical schools, I hear, in the supplementary Budget. There is no attempt to create the demand by even the promise of employment but large sums must be spent for the supply. This attempt to delude the people with the offer of stone when they require bread, I cannot sufficiently condemn. We passed resolutions for Technological and Agricultural Colleges and schools

and nothing has been granted for the purpose Colonel Pugh's denunciation of the inefficiency of the Ministers, if indulged in by any one of us, would be considered stark rebellion. He however forgot to mention one matter. No attempt has been made to give effect to the Industrial Commission's recommendations. It is no fault of the Minister if he tells us he has not the time to read it or to understand it. One likes to know why Industrial Education has not been placed under the Education Minister.

The people of this province are discontented. What benefits do they receive from the Government? Pay, pay and pay more is all they hear, while they die like fleas of cholera and other diseases, feeling helpless and hopeless for want of doctors and while their lips are parched for want of drinking water. The middle classes are without employment because of the want of technical education. You cannot expect a people to be contented under these conditions. It is not Mr. Gandhi or Mr. C. R. Das who is responsible for this state of things, but the Government. The Government is under a great delusion. They have been misled by the agitating politicians in thinking that by grant of political rights with expensive salaries for the leaders or even by grant of *Swaraj* with an expensive administration, even though Lord Sinha or Mr. Sastri may be made a Governor, the people will be satisfied. These political nostrums are futile in the face of the distressful condition of the people in the matter of the bare necessities of life. This simple proposition politicians

in England and in India, who take their cue from books and talk of dyarchy and self-government within the Empire have never appreciated. India has been ruined by the reforming zeal of English administrators since Lord Curzon, and our difficulties are great and they have increased largely on account of the activities of the agitators agitating for what every thinking man in this country knows are mere sky-flowers in the expressive language of Sanskrit phraseology, which have led to disturbances of peace and order. Such disturbances cannot but be put down by all responsible Government. Just take one instance, we are required to add Rs. 234,000 to our burdens for providing comfortable jails to persons who in their mistaken sense of patriotism insist on breaking the law and going to jail. Socrates's observation while he was in prison awaiting the cup of poison for killing him, when he was asked by his friends, to escape, should be remembered by my countrymen. Socrates refused to escape the poison cup on the ground that the laws of a country must be obeyed, for disobedience to them leads to anarchy and ruin. What are we, the poor people of this country, to do? We who do not want political rights and high offices with large salaries, we who want peace and order, who do not want to see our schools and colleges empty but who wish more of them and more full than at present, we who want technical education, progress in industries and commerce, we who want medical relief and drinking water, where are we to go? Sir,

I came to this Council with high hopes of doing good to my people. I have had passed in this Council resolutions covering most of the objects for which I sought election. But they have proved futile because of the unsympathetic conduct of our Ministers who, though very rich men, in their nervousness for their salaries, have missed great opportunities which God placed in their hands for doing good. If I find that next year's Budget is as dismal as this year's I shall not trouble you with my presence.

ON THE BUDGET OF 1923.

The Budget of this year is the Budget of despair. Last year, the Hon'ble the Finance Member told us, all new schemes were suspended and in the coming year everything has to be cut down. He said : "But after all we cannot look on this Budget with any great satisfaction. It makes no provision for development and allows for no progress—it merely permits the carrying-on of the administration in its minimum essentials and that, too, only by drawing to some extent on our balances." But the optimistically added: "We have not come to the end of our resources" and gave us hopes for the future. But we must remember that the respite granted to us for the annual payment to the Central Government of 63 lakhs has nearly expired. Our financial members here have for the last three years expatiated on the justice of our cause and the propriety of our getting more of the revenue. But they forget that in this matter the Legislative Assembly is the arbiter and they forget that the other provinces and the majority of the Assembly are against Bengal. There is no hope there. We are thus in a hopeless condition. Nobody has yet ventured to mention why we are in this predicament. Our revenue has increased. There has been no set-back to the prosperity of the province. There never were such deficits during the entire period since Bengal was constituted into a Province

The reason is patent. We have added to our annual obligations by about a crore of rupees by the increase of the salaries. Add to this about 10 lakhs in salaries for new appointments necessitated by the Reforms. I have not been able to give exact figures for Mr. Marr could not supply them to me. The remedy is simple. Go back to the old salaries and you are safe. But the aristocratic democrats of this Council will not have that. It is they who have increased the salaries. The remedy proposed by some of their worthy leaders who constituted the Retrenchment Committee is to dismiss thousands of the educated *bhadralog* from the Government service instead of asking people to take their old salaries. Is dismissal of a third or a fourth of the number better than no increase? I shall not be able to convince this Council who have been instrumental in ruining the country by this increase at the bidding of the executive.

Sir, I am hopeless ; when I re-entered the Council after 12 years I did so at the expense of my humble literary and other labours with the high hope of participating in great work of public beneficence which I expected the Reformed Council will do. I expected that now the representatives of the people will be able to afford medical relief, to supply good drinking water to the poor people of this country in the villages, that we shall have great technological and agricultural colleges, model farms and veterinary surgeons for the relief of cattle to be scattered broadcast throughout the country. I thought that

there shall be now money found for colleges and schools, for the relief of poor school masters, for the long delayed separation of the judicial and the executive and other urgently required matters. I had my humble share in the Council's passing resolutions and requesting the Government to do the needful, even to spend specified amounts for the above purposes. At the end of our career we find nothing has been done on account of financial stringency. There was no such stringency when we came to the Council, but now we are practically bankrupt, for not only is our income not equal to our usual expenditure but so much less that we have to cut down the expenditure on every essential matter. The moneys budgeted for dispensaries and drinking water have been taken away altogether. In education alone there has been a reduction of over 5 lakhs. In the transferred subjects there has been a reduction of 23 lakhs.

We shall probably have an additional expenditure of 3 crores for the Grand Trunk Canal—a project against which the majority of the nonofficial members expressed adverse opinion. The measures for prevention of malaria are to be discontinued and the services of Dr. Bentley have to be dispensed with. Now, worse than the deficit in the Budget is the condition of the health of the people. The Maharaja of Nadia showed yesterday that within 10 years the decrease in the population of the district of Nadia has been over 8 per cent. In the districts of Howrah, Hooghly, Burdwan, Raniganj, Midnapore, Bankura and Birbhum, if we leave out the floating emigrant

population, the decrease of the Hindu population has not been less than the decrease in Nadia. We are a dying people. This people have to be saved. The words of the Minister of Health, always magnificently eloquent for the last three years, have expatiated on our parlous condition and how he was to banish malaria from the country and save the people from extinction. That would surely have been a justification for Rs. 65,000 a year or double that sum. How is he feeling to-day at the close of his career? Again, the Minister for Education has been promising us large schemes for education. Where are they? The Ministers with the prestige of their position, wealth, and influence induced this Council to pass the taxation Bills on the assurance that the proceeds will go for projects of sanitation and education. I then protested and pressed that the proceeds should be earmarked by Statute as in the case of the road cess. But I was overruled. How are the Ministers feeling to-day? I am not inclined to sympathize with them, for it is wholly their fault that we are in this position. They led us and they have led us to ruin. Our Ministers cannot blame us for being dissatisfied with our hopeless lot.

The Finance Member has said that the Government shall carry out the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee so far as they can, and it is our duty to express our opinion on them. I found yesterday few people here approving the recommendations of the Committee and most people condemning them.

Speaking here as the representative of the educated middle class, I must enter my emphatic protest against these recommendations which will throw tens and thousands of them out of employ. It is all very good to say be artisans and to insist on the dignity of manual labour, but we are not very well physically fitted for it. The great *bhadralog* class have been hard hit by these recommendations which herald their doom. Now let us consider them on their merits.

The Committee consisting of a criminal court pleader, a coal merchant, and a building contractor have taken upon themselves to revise the University and the education system of this great province. Modesty is not one of the virtues of any one of us, especially when we can attain to high places with the qualification of being a legal practitioner or a member of Council.

The Committee have recommended that 30 lakhs be cut down from the education grant. Are they aware that the average expenditure of a pupil in a secondary school is only Rs. 21 a year, being the lowest of any other province? The figure for the United Provinces is Rs. 51. The cost per boy in European schools is Rs. 823-4-0. The Committee have not dared to touch the European schools, the grant to which I do not grudge. But for shame they should have left the schools for Indian boys alone. Are the Committee aware that the proportion of the revenue spent on education is lower than in any other civilised country? Are they aware that in the case of Indian schools five-sixths of the expenditure is met

from fees and private sources? In their ignorant zeal they have proposed that 41 zilla schools be abolished. The 4 lakhs not spent on them even if they be allotted to 800 other schools would mean Rs. 500 a year for each of them. Will that be any relief to these schools? The district boards will refuse to take a burden of 8 lakhs for the schools, and they must go. The district boards have been asked to find funds for colleges, and secondary schools. Have they got the means? What the Committee say is: "You tax your people if you want education we cannot give you any money out of revenue, for it is required for increases of our salaries."

Again, these coal merchants, tea merchants and criminal court lawyers have revised the entire judicial system built up by great lawyers and administrators during the last 175 years. The Privy Council have declared that our subordinate judges are equal to the best judges in any country. The coal merchants have put down as their considered opinion that the members of our judicial services are guided by the evidence in a case and do not look to the probabilities of the case as do the deputy magistrates, which means they are guided by the rules of relevancy of evidence and the weight of evidence and not by hearsay and unbalanced opinion. Well done, my coal merchants and joint magistrates to whom the rules of evidence are anathema! The deputy magistrates will not take the compliment given to them. The Public Services Commission have found that the subordinate judicial

service is undermanned and inadequately paid. Our Committee have recommended reduction of members and pay. They declare that the munsifs by general consent are being paid more than an economic wage? Education and justice are the glory of the British Government. Take them away if you like!

The deputy magistrates also have not been better treated. Reduction in number and pay to the extent of 4 lakhs a year have been recommended. Some of these members were hopelessly beaten in this Council on a resolution about amalgamation of the two Presidency magistracies. They have recommended it now.

SALARIES OF MEMBERS

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur:— The question before us is one of great difficulty. To the unthinking proud man in brief authority obtained by supporting Rs. 64 lakhs a year in salaries of Ministers the question is clear as day-light. Any additional small payment to poor members of the Council may be an impediment in the way of large salaries of Ministers and other great men with whom lie all the patronage. To the humbler members of the Council the decision of this question is a difficult matter. When we matter find in all the democracies of the world, members of Parliament are paid, we are staggered. Self-sacrifice is a noble virtue, but it sometimes is not conducive to the public good. That is a good and sure foundation of a common wealth which is placed on the rock of enlightened self-interest. Every servant of the State must live. If the Council is to be representative of the poor people of this country, the members will not be zamindars and wealthy men, but men who have to support themselves and their families by the sweat of their brow. If men in comfortable positions declare that others should sacrifice their families for the country, one cannot but feel amused. Therefore, I must agree with Mr. Forrester that if you want to have democracy in India you must pay the members. If only the raiyats were elected to this Council as representing raiyats and this Council were a truly

democratic body, all this noble talk about self-sacrifice would be a matter of laughter. But the question is—is India fit to be a democracy? Excepting the few favoured constituencies for zamindars, merchants and graduates, none but raiyats ought to be elected to this Council. But is that a fact? Because that is not the fact we are discussing the question. We are not yet a democracy. The Council will in the next twenty years be democratic and Bengali and Urdu and not English will be spoken here and our Ministers will not have to address Bengali-speaking members in ungrammatical Bengali interspersed with English. Even Sanskrit Bengali will be out of date. But to-day we are not that Council. This Council composed of Maharajas, Rajas, Rai Bahadurs, wealthy zamindars, lawyers, merchants, professors and the like, is surely aristocratic and not democratic. That was the state of things in England also. It was the Barons of England who forced King John to sign the charter at Runnymede. Later when the franchise was extended, it was the wealthy men who got themselves elected by the votes of their tenants. Then there was no payment for members. It was *infra dig* for a member to be paid. But as soon as England became a true democracy the members had to be paid. That is the story in all countries. To this Council, as constituted at present, the offer of a salary is an insult. We cannot take it. Our successors will surely take it and do so without impropriety. But we cannot take it. One word more. I find Maharajas, Rajas, Kumars and big

zamindars and professors, who have been living in Calcutta before and after their election, have been taking Rs. 10 a day and also travelling expenses for going to their estates in the districts which they are supposed to represent. Again, many truly patriotic gentlemen have taken above Rs. 3,000 as travelling and boarding expenses. These gentlemen and opulent and flourishing residents of Calcutta have been the loudest in their preaching of self-sacrifice. But it is the middle class gentlemen, mostly Muhammadans, who have no places of residence at Calcutta and who have to leave their professions and callings, which maintain their families, they are the real sufferers. I deeply sympathise with them. They are the democratic element in this Council. I can only tell them your day will surely come. Now you are in the minority and you must imitate us, prosperous men, in making money as we do out of the State. Your day will surely come when the Ministers will be recruited from your ranks and the salaries will be at once reduced to reasonable limits, for these two things—reduction of the salaries of the high places and paying small salaries to the humble members—, go together. We, who are not democrats, are the majority here. We shall certainly throw out the proposal of a salary which is derogatory to our honour, but I do hope as true aristocrats the affluent members, who are now making money out of the State, should cease from any practice which is not honourable to them.

TRAVELLING ALLOWANCE OF MEMBER.

• Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur :—Yes. yesterday I was surprised at the heat of the discussion and the great leniency shown by the President who allowed even such phrases as base insinuations in respect of a member as parliamentary, a decision to which I do not object, for many of us have had worse epithets used against us ; and I, for one, have never objected though I challenge anybody to find any expressions like these in the voluminous record of my speeches during the last two years. Many will probably smile at me as the injured innocent ; but I desire them to look at the reports and judge. You will presently see how the supposed great abuser behaves. A whole day was spent in absolutely useless rhetoric yesterday. We have much work to do and we have done little. I rubbed my eyes when I looked at the numerous resolutions standing in the names of the injured innocents of this Council. I wondered whether most of them would not be pressed or would finally be modified to innocuousness. The first resolution, which spoke of gentlemen and noblemen living in their residences at Calcutta drawing Rs. 10 a day, was withdrawn. The third resolution spoke of an inquiry committee, but when the mover moved the resolution, he left out the demand for an inquiry and proposed a suggestive committee. The Government, which delights in futilities,

at once accepted the amended resolution. But the question is : are we to sanction this piece of futility ? The whole country is speaking of the monies taken by the members of the Council and the Ministers. They speak of it more than they speak of the political prisoners. Are we going to burke the question ? The injured innocents of this Council, in just indignation, become angry ; and in the words of the poet, they show a countenance like that of Durbasha with his flaming locks and a visage distorted with contortions. Now, Sir, we are here as the representatives of the people. The people demand that we should do them service and not take any money improperly. I know that there are poor men amongst us who do not break the law and only take what is allowed by the law to the gazetted officers and if they save anything, every gazetted officer does that. But what to speak of gentlemen and the noblemen who have residences here and who take Rs. 10 a day ? I tried my best to find an excuse for them, but in spite of my supposed ingenuity I could find none.

The country demands that we should be pure ; it demands that there should be an inquiry into this matter, this very grave scandal. We have not been pure like Sita—even she, the purest of womankind, was obliged to go through the ordeal of fire by the most loving of husbands recorded in history or fiction. I want to know why should there not be an inquiry, why should there be any "but" ? It seems to me that all these resolutions are simply intended

to burke an inquiry. I cannot accept anyone of them and they must, therefore, be rejected altogether. What right has the Government to come forward of its own motion, to say that we should be a party to a futile suggestive committee? ("Hear, hear.") Why should we add insult to injury? We must not be insulted by the Government. If anyone is guilty, we shall punish him. We want a committee of our own, not a committee by our judges and our traducers. Why the Government should interfere in this matter we cannot see. Let them do so hereafter. But here the question is—Are we going to have this committee of futility? I say—"No, nothing of the kind whatever."

AMUSEMENT TAX BILL.

Roy Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur :—I beg to oppose the introduction of the Bill for new taxation on its own merits and not as a protest against Government action as few members of this Council desire to do. I desire the Government to know that myself and 90 per cent. of those who may oppose this measure do so because new taxation is unjustifiable and not because they are against the Government. Let no prejudice be raised against this opposition nor let the supporters of the Government be induced to support the measure on the ground that opposition to it means opposition to the Government. Speaking for myself, I am bound by my pledge to my constituency, the large body of graduates of Bengal, that I would oppose new taxation. When the Reforms were inaugurated notwithstanding the jubilations of a few men who seceded from the extremist camp and formed themselves into self-styled moderates and whose expectations of large salaries and honours were speedily fulfilled, the whole country knew that the immediate effect of the Reforms would be new taxation. I must say here that this has been the case from the most ancient times in all countries and British India is no exception. Whenever the Kings of England from King John downwards required money by taxation they would grant political privileges to the people till the people became so strong that concessions from Kings were not neces

sary. In India the same method, if followed, attaches no discredit or want of *bona fides* to the Government.

We do not object to pay any new taxes for the purposes of Government for necessary military expenses or for expenses for preserving law and order, but what we strongly object to is that the whole money extorted out of very poor people should be taken by the officials for the increase of their salaries. Those that intend to support the Government should bear in mind that this is practically admitted by the Government without compunction or word of regret. The *Englishman* newspaper said the same thing. People in England should know that money is wanted for this purpose only. When they know that, I am sure the most anti-Indian among conservatives will have some searching of the heart.

I am not one of those persons who would grudge Bengal's quota for imperial purposes. It is useless, futile, to press for reduction of it. Reduction depends not on the Government of India but upon the representatives of the other provinces who will all oppose Bengal's claims to the detriment of their own interests. I am under no illusion upon that matter. But that amount Bengal can well spare. The question which I ask is why the cost of administration in Bengal should have increased nearly 200 per cent. since the partition. I ask the question why could Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam be governed, and much more efficiently governed than now by a Lieutenant-Governor with three

Secretaries on Rs. 3,500 a month, and why Bengal alone now requires a Governor from the Peerage of Great Britain and six Executive Councillors and Ministers and nearly two dozen Secretaries and Under-Secretaries. Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam have been separated from each other and their administrations and their people are bankrupt just to please the agitating moderates who have all got their rewards. We all know how the administration charges have gone up to the ruin of the people. The salaries of the members of what are called the Indian Services have been unconscionably raised in anticipation of the reforms. I should like to know why the salaries of Deputy Magistrates among whom I have a son, and all other services have been raised simultaneously with the Reforms. Only last year at the instance of the Hon'ble Mr. Kerr an additional expenditure was sanctioned for rising salaries of persons some of whom out of their small present salaries have been building three-storied houses in the most expensive localities of Calcutta and elsewhere. The additional expenditure amounted to over Re. 1 crore 90 lakhs a year. Over and above this is the new additional expenditure on the Police. The Hon'ble Mr. Kerr told us yesterday that the net deficit next year would be about Rs. 90 lakhs. Did not the Hon'ble Mr. Kerr know the fact and was it not his clear duty to tell us that the additional expenditure for increase of salaries would have to be paid by new taxes? Could not that increase wait for one year? Again he has in his mind the addition of one anna

in the rupee in the road cess. That means the ruin of all zemindars and tenants. Let the zemindars be ignored. The tenants will be ruined by such taxation. They are unable to pay the chaukidari tax and there are mutterings of coming open defiance of the Government. We find fault with Mahatma Gandhi and the non-co-operators. But they are blind and deaf who consider that people are forgetful of the blessings of peace, protection and progress which they enjoy under the British rule and unreasonably follow Mahatma Gandhi. Mahatma Gandhi and his followers have taken advantage of the folly of the Government and added to their propaganda impossible and impracticable conditions. The Government have driven the people to extremities and are finding fault with them, because the only way in which they can give expression to their despair is by supporting Mahatma Gandhi. English people should not forget the rebellion of Wat Tyler. The Government leaves the people no option. I would ask the Government to cry halt before it is too late. I am sure any overt rebellion will be speedily washed away in a sea of blood and order restored by the irresistible might of England, a fact to which some non-co-operators are blind. But I wish to know how you can raise money out of a destitute people for the high salaries of the officials on a scale unheard of in much richer countries.

Now speaking on the merits of the proposed new taxation on entertainment, it is said that it is to be found in other countries. But even the *English*.

man newspaper and Mr. Pugh in this Council have pointed out that in other countries it is justified only because the proceeds are earmarked for hospitals and other beneficent purposes. We shall have no objection if that is the case here." But if the proceeds go to pay higher salaries, the people must object. Mr. Pugh said the same thing, but added that the Government might appropriate equal amounts from the existing grants for these purposes to supply its deficit consequent on the increase of the salaries. The late Mr. Pugh, who was my father's friend and who was at his time the leader of the Europeans of Calcutta, would not have made this un-English devious suggestion. Readers of history know how the Roman Consuls and Emperors provided public entertainments for the people at State expense. Readers of books on ethics and sociology know that public cheap entertainments are more effectual in keeping the people moral and peaceful than the police and prisons. Therefore public entertainments should not be lightly taxed. If only betting at the races and share market speculations which, one does not know why, have been excluded, were taxed, it would have received the support of every reasonable person, as it might save many a man from ruin. Even so loyal an Association as the Anglo-Indian Association has opposed this taxation, though its representative has disloyally gone against his own Association.

The Hon'ble Mr. Kerr has told that he had made retrenchments in all possible directions, and he

has told us what they are. He has cut down settlement proceedings which would benefit raiyats, and he has cut down expenses of the Public Works Department. This definition of retrenchment is rather novel. He might next year cut down educational charges and charges on medical relief. The pucca roads in the mufassal were all made 30 years ago and are falling out of repair on account of such retrenchment, and the villagers will relapse to their old condition of pre-British days. The Hon'ble Mr. Kerr's idea of retrenchment is to cut down essential expenses for the salaries of the officials. Let there be no mistake about the fact, the truth of which is patent and which no sophistry can shake. When the Reforms were launched upon this unfortunate country, the Government in England and in India were not so foolish as not to arrange matters that the ordinary administration could not be carried on without fresh taxation. If that were so, it would be criminally foolish statesmanship. In fairness to the Government, I can not charge them with this folly. Their unwisdom lay in the fact that they increased the salaries of the Imperial services by Rs. 3 crores and 75 lakhs in anticipation and took away the power of interfering with them from the new Councils. Even then the administration could be carried on without borrowing or new taxation. But the Government of Bengal, having a proper sense of fairness and justice, saw the necessity of increasing the salaries of the subordinate services, the constables and the menial servants, who looked with green-eyed envy at the feast

supplied to the superior services. During the first year of the Government under the reforms an increase in salaries to the extent of over Rs. 1 crore and 90 lakhs, being the bed-rock deficit of the Hon'ble Mr. Kerr, has been sanctioned. Some of the increase has been sanctioned by this Council, I must say with shame to myself and other members, but when the Government proposed these increases to the salaries without mentioning the fact to us that we would have to tax the poor people of Bengal only for these, what could we do but pass the estimates? Now what do we find? We have passed resolutions for providing medical relief and drinking water and primary education to the people. We are told point blank there is no money, they must wait till increased salaries are provided for. Tax the people for the increased salaries first and then we shall see whether we can meet your demands for the primary needs of the people. Are there are no Europeans here, with whom lies the determining vote, to appreciate the gross injustice and unwisdom of the course? We regretfully look back to the days of the old stalwarts of the European community who guided the Government officials and who were not guided by the latter. As regards the moderate members their only concern is with the salaries, but it must be mentioned that Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee and Mr. P. C. Mitter were parties to a memorial just before they got Rs. 64000 a year in which it was stated that if an attempt was made by the Government of Bengal to impose fresh taxation on the poor for purposes of carrying on its

ordinary administration, such attempt would be justly resented by the people. I call upon the Ministers in justice to themselves and the half dozen members of the moderate faith, whose only creed is to support the Ministers and their salaries to be men and protest against the present attempt of the Government.

[At this stage, the member having reached the time-limit, had to resume his seat.]

COURT-FEES AMENDMENT BILL.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur : I beg to oppose this Bill. This is more serious than the last Bill. The Hon'ble Mr. Kerr has admitted in his opening speech that the bulk of the money raised by this tax will be from suits of small value, and though he was himself personally inclined that these small suits should be exempted, he could not do so because the object of the Bill would then be frustrated. The Hon'ble Mr. Kerr is too frank and honest for a politician. So it is admittedly a tax on the poor. I asked him whether it was a fact that increases in salary which he got sanctioned last year were more than a crore of rupees. I asked him whether it was a fact that the proceeds would be absorbed by the increases, but this he did not deny. The Hon'ble Mr. P. C. Mitter got up and said that these increases had been determined upon by the preceeding Government and therefore they had no option but to carry them out. The fact, Sir, stands there that these taxes are required for salaries. The fact cannot be disputed, The people of Bengal have every right to object to paying tax in order to provide larger salaries for their officials. Sir, I ask whether it was a fact that the Hon'ble Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea and the Hon'ble Mr. P. C. Mitter were parties to a memorial in which it was stated that a new taxation to meet administrative charges would be bad and the people of Bengal

would be justified in resenting it. I ask and ask again these leaders to say how they can support these taxes on the poor, admittedly in order to meet administrative charges. Now Sir, looking at the merits of this Bill, on principle it is bad to tax justice. To make profit out of the administration of justice is simply indefensible. To make a larger profit out of it for administrative charges is still more indefensible. That it is bad on principle has been admitted by previous administrators, and in this new Council, we, the helpless few here, are asked to sanction a tax which is on principle as bad as can be. Sir, you know very well that in the High Court (Original Side) no *ad valorem* court-fee is leviable. They have fixed small court-fees on suits of all values, even for suits of Rs. 10 lakhs or Rs. 20 lakhs. Why is it that the people of the moffussil should have a large tax to pay whenever they come to a court of justice, whereas the people of Calcutta have to pay a very small tax? Why should there be a differential treatment? The reason is apparent. Calcutta is the city of Europeans and they would not stand it, but in the moffussil the poor raiyats can be fleeced to any amount in any way. Sir, I again say that this tax is bad on principle and indefensible. This will raise discontent in the country and be a source of strength to the non-co-operators, who are already trying their level best to boycott courts. Now the boycotting of courts would be easier.

STAMP ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur : I have been a diligent student of the histories of all countries but I have not yet come across a single instance in which the people have been taxed three times on three subjects on three successive days. I shall be told that you are being taxed by your own representatives—by your trusted leaders, the Hon'ble Ministers. I shall be told that these taxes are required for increased salaries and that they are required to fight the dread scourge of malaria. It is Divine Providence which asks you to pay these taxes ungrudgingly. Do not be so unpatriotic, so disloyal, so sacrilegious as to object to the payment of these taxes. I should have been very glad to be on the side of our Hon'ble Ministers and of those fellow members, who come from north and south, from east and west, like those that came to the piping of the pied piper of Hammelin and I do hope they will meet with the same fate. I do desire that Government should remember the saying of St. Paul that things should be done with decency and proper decorum and not in a hurry. Now I am afraid the Government of Bengal is not properly advised by the lawyers. The questions raised by Colonel Pugh is not so easy of disposal. It raises the question of great juristic importance. The Hon'ble Mr. Kerr was strictly right in what he said, but he did not see the larger issues involved. The question is this :

There has been a devolution of the provinces. In the United States of America there are different stamp laws, different court-fee laws, but a document stamped properly in the Iowa State can be properly received as evidence in the State of New York, because the Central Government has legislated that it should be so. Until the Central Government here does legislate that a document properly stamped in Bengal should be received as evidence in other Provinces and *Vice Versa*, this Bill should not be passed. This is a question of jurisprudence which the Government must take into consideration. A little reading of law is sometimes necessary. Now, speaking on the merits of this Bill, it is very easily said "increase the stamp duty." I do believe and indeed I have been so told that these three taxes have been introduced because Government did not dare to put a direct tax upon the people. They thought it was the easiest way. The people would not be able to do without stamping documents or when going to the courts. Therefore non-co-operation could be killed in this way. I say, this is not a straight-forward course. I believe that this has been recommended by certain very astute solicitors and barristers. (A voice: And vakils?) No, never by vakils. Look at this question? What does it mean? You know in the course of 100 years every property changes hands. Some gentlemen here—some Rajahs and Maharajahs—consider that their properties will allways remain in the hands of their children but they must pass hands. Therefore, it means that the

Government takes away 3 per cent. of the entire property of the land of the rich as well as of the poor. (A voice : Quite right.) Yes, but you must clearly understand this fact that your property would not always remain in your family, that 3 per cent. of the property will be taken away and 3 per cent. for every 25 years in mortgages and sales. It will be about 12 per cent. in 100 years. If you want to pay this tax, appreciate this fact and then you can vote, but do not vote like dumb, driven cattle. There are various difficulties in this Act. Schedules are so made as when looked on the face of it there seems to be an improvement on the old Act, but I have calculated and found that they are exactly where they were before, excepting that you say that you have made 50 per cent. increase everywhere.

The difficulties and deficiencies of the drafting are many, but these may surely be removed by the Select Committee, but the main question remains—Should we have this Act and should we have this tax ? Is it required for our purposes ? It is required for preventing malaria or merely for improving salaries : I am under no delusion whatsoever. We shall have no money either for medical relief or for drinking water or for primary schools or for technical colleges. We shall never have them, but we shall only have to pay taxes. Therefore, I strongly oppose this new tax and I do hope that it will be rejected.

THE MUNICIPAL BILL.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur:— Sir, I was one of those who, with the Hon'ble Sir Surendra Nath Banerjee, resigned our seats in the Calcutta Corporation when the Mackenzie Act was passed. He and I have been true to our promise not to enter the Corporation until that obnoxious Act was repealed. It was, therefore, with great delight that I welcomed the introduction of the Calcutta Municipal Bill by Sir Surendra Nath, and to some extent I also participated in his triumph on the occasion. Sir Surendra Nath was pleased to ask me to help him in carrying through the Council the contentious question of communal representation, the question of mixed electorate and other contentious matters which were in the original Bill. I gave my humble and whole-hearted support to him, and the objections of my Muhammadan friends on the ground of communal representation were hopelessly beaten in this Council. Sir, it has been a great disappointment to me for the shape that the Bill has now taken, and it is with great pain that I speak against a measure from which so much was expected and upon which so much thought and labour were expended.

My objections to the Bill are four in number. First, in the original Bill Cossipore-Chitpur and Garden Reach were not included; now it includes Cossipore-Chitpur, Garden Reach as well as Maniktala—an enormous area. Sir, even now the Corporation is not

in a position to meet its statutory obligations. We do not get filtered water on the first floor; unfiltered water not unseldom fails us; was it wise to take the responsibility of this vast area upon you? You are all aware of the large debts of the Corporation and you are also aware that the Bidyadhari river is silting up and more than one crore of rupees will be required for our new drainage. This step of increasing the liabilities and obligations by adding to the town of Calcutta this vast area is fraught with very great danger to the population of this city.

My next objection is that in the original Bill there was a mixed electorate; now our Hon'ble the Minister has withdrawn that and given us communal representation—a measure against all principles of statecraft, a measure which will lead to great danger in the future both to Hindus and Muhammadans. I have already given my reasons for opposing it, and I do not wish to dwell upon it now. My next point is that in the original bill there was a provision about preventing and regulating cow-slaughter. Our Hon'ble the Minister thought it right to take out the whole of the provision. It was before us as settled by the Select Committee. It has been taken away by the Hon'ble the Minister here, and with it has now been taken away the power of regulating the slaughter of cows and calves. Sir, I am not a master of words like the Hon'ble the Minister, but I can tell him that this has gone deep into the hearts of the Hindu people of this country.

My next objection is one upon which Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea has taken great pride, namely, one vote for one man. I want one vote for one man for the permanent resident population of Calcutta, but by the provisions of this Bill we have given votes to the fleeting population of Calcutta who outnumber by ten times the resident population of this city; you have taken away the control of the city from us; we, the Hindu and Muhammadan population, the resident population of the city, are nowhere, and we shall be swamped by the fleeting population of the other provinces, of other countries Japanese and Chinese; you have taken away from us our own city; you have taken away from us our capital city; we cannot feel the pride which you feel in our own ruin. Upon these grounds I say the Bill is a meance to the population of Calcutta.

GRAND TRANK CANNAL.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur : Speaker after speaker, and, last of all, Colonel Pagh, have asked the Hon'ble Member in charge of Irrigation to answer the simple question whether the entire project should be placed before the Council for sanction ; but no reply has been given. I have therefore no option left to me but to support the amendment. I do so after much thought and after consulting many persons whose opinion I respect. Sir, the Council has done heitherto nothing in a hurry. It must have been observed that 156 amendments to the Budget have been negatived or withdrawn ; these amendments, if carried, would have made the administration impossible. My humble self and the majority of the members have co-operated with the Government to the best of their power. We have only made a reduction of about 23 lacs in the police grant. I can not support the grant.

But I may give this assurance that, if the Government after consulting the committee, which we shall elect—a committee in which I shall try my best that the very best men of our body should be elected, recommend further expenditure as indispensable, we shall certainly give effect to the recommendation if a supplementary grant is asked for. We are in no unreasonable mood of mind. We have struck off the grant for the Chief Justice's house ; we have done it with very great regret ; and I may say that in all other matters we supported the Government.

It is a question of Rs. 69,00,000, and the passing of this project will cripple the finances of Bengal for at least 20 years. Sanitation, education, medical relief, will be at a standstil. The estimate is for Rs. 3,50,00,000; it may go up to Rs. 10,00,0000. We have been given broad hints that it will be necessary to impose a tax on the poor people of Bengal; they are not able to bear it and I say it will lead to disaster. I oppose this scheme with keen regret. Few members here know the part I took in the scheme when it was first conceived. Mr. Lees, the eminent engineer, was brought to elaborate it. The scheme then passed through the southern suburbs. It was a scheme so grand that it excited the admiration of everybody—it excited my admiration at least. After Mr. Lees left, the battle of the engineers began. The subordinate of Mr. Lees, who should have loyally carried out the scheme, tore it to pieces; and for 16 years this matter has not been carried out; the fault lies not with us but with other people; and these 16 years were momentous years. It has changed the face of the world; great European countries have become bankrupt and India is in a very bad way. Prices have risen threefold. The prices of land have risen eight-fold. Then there is the exchange. It is a very grave risk now to do anything by which it may be said that we sanctioned the project. I am not prepared to take the risk. Notwithstanding all this if I were satisfied that the scheme was useful I might have supported it because of its grandeur but there are many defects in it. The first

defect is that it may impede the drainage of half of Bengal. A canal with locks at two ends means a great impediment to the natural drainage of the land. It is worse than railway embankments with their innumerable culverts and openings. A canal with two locks at two sides cannot allow water to flow into it. Thus half of Bengal would be water-logged. We know how good the health Punjab and Shahabad was and now they have become very malarious; but they have got this advantage there, that the lands, which yielded nothing before now produce bumper crops. But here in Bengal what advantage can we get with our natural drainage thus impeded? It will not add to the fertility of the soil. This is my first ground.

My second ground is this; the cost now estimated is Rs. 3,50,00,000. Whatever anybody might say, we know how the estimates in actual working are always exceeded. In this case we all expect that it will not be less than Rs 10,00,00,000, or at least in any case not less than Rs. 6,00,00,000 or Rs. 7,00,00,000. Are we able to pay this amount? We are not. No prudent householder would incur this risk; It is undoubtedly a risk in any case.

We are told the question is about the dredgers. If I remember aright even in this single matter of dredgers, Mr. Lees' estimate, was Rs. 15,00,00; now it is Rs. 1,20,00,000 - eight times the original estimate; the dredgers have not been purchased. We want to know how the agreement stands. Government ought to come forward to tell us in a straight

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forward manner, as is done in every business house. They ought to come forward and show us the agreement and say : "Here is the agreement, here are the terms ; you pass the amount." But they have not come to us in this fashion. They say: "We do not know what the scheme may ultimately cost, but pass this item as a part of the scheme." I suppose no business-house or any zamindar would approve of this course. Let us have a straight-forward business-like way of doing things. Bring in the Rs. 6,00,000 or 7,00,000 and show it as a separate item, not as part of the scheme, and say : "We want this money," and we shall never be so unreaable as not to pass it. But why should we at all pass it without looking into the agreement ; that is not businesslike.

Now, I have another objection. We are required to raise a loan. I for my part shall always vote against any loan or new tax that may be proposed here. As long as I am here, I should like to cut our coat according to our cloth. No loans here why should Government go into loans? If we strike out Rs. 60,00,000 we shall decrease our deficit by about half, and thereby Bengal, instead of being bankrupt, will be solvent, and we shall be able to pay for our doctors, for our *gurus*, and for our village roads and tanks and other needs which are urgent, and for which I shall put motions as soon as I can. Now, Sir, I shall never support a loan nor a tax ; come what may and however much my action may be misconstrued, I shall never do it.

RETRENCHMENT COMMITTEE'S REPORT.

Roy Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur : I beg to support this resolution. The recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee are of so revolutionary a character, that one rubs his eyes to assure himself if he has read aright what he sees in the report before him.

Let us take one instance. Rupees 35 lakhs has been proposed to be reduced from the Education Department. Allmost all the Government colleges and Zilla schools are proposed to be abolished. Sir I give clear notice to the Government and to the Council that if these particular proposals—the abolition of Government colleges and schools—are given effect to, and if any substantial reduction is made from the Education grant, I shall resign and take this matter to the vote of the graduates of this country which, I know, will not be pleasant to the members of the Retrenchment Committee and the Government, should the latter adopt their recommendation in this direction.

The Committee have proposed to reduce the salaries of judicial officers and also their number. This surely I did not expect from gentlemen of our nationality. Some of these gentlemen added Rs. 60 lakhs a year to our financial obligations by giving additional salaries to the men connected with civil

courts—men, who could, as one of the members told me, work without any salaries if necessary!

The Agriculture Department, the Fishery Department, and other departments are proposed to be practically abolished. An attempt was made last year in this Council to do the same by means of a resolution. I had my part in defeating it and it was defeated by an overwhelming number of votes; and an attempt has again been made now to do so by the Retrenchment Committee; but I hope, Sir the House will not accept it.

I am of opinion that a day should be given to us to consider these matters in detail. I am sorry at the present moment I cannot say what part of the report we should approve and what part we should not approve. I do hope that the Government will give the Council an opportunity of doing so.

Mr. Villiers has, in his respect for great men omitted to consider that lesser men also may do their duty to their country. Enthusiasm on the part of young men for great men is natural, but, Sir, hero-worship may go too far. Mr. Villiers does not seem to know that all the departments for the public good have been built up by generations of British statemen and administrators. Now, most of these departments are practically proposed to be abolished. I shall be surprised if any Englishman approves of any such measure.

I must say here that it is the Indian officers, both Hindu and Muhammadans, who will suffer most if these recommendations are accepted. How many

members of the Imperial Services will suffer? It is the educated community which will be hardest hit.

Finally, I wish to draw the attention of the Council to one fact, namely, that the Committee have proposed a reduction in the number of Ministers instead of proposing a reduction in their salary. They made a similar attempt in this Council, and, though defeated by an overwhelming vote, they have done the same thing here. Further comment is unnecessary. When the day comes they will be properly criticized. A great majority of the recommendations will have to go, but we must have a say in the matter.

DACCA TRAINING COLLEGE.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur : The interest in education shown by certain members of the Council in resolutions and in bringing bills and withdrawing them is very interesting indeed. These gentlemen place others in a very great difficulty.

A regards this resolution, the desire of Rai Dr. Haridhan Dutt Bahadur for economy is very commendable, but what does he know of the Training School at Dacca, and why does he wish to abolish it? Why does he talk about it in this hall? For the province of Bengal which is larger than Germany, two training colleges for teachers are not much, are not one too many. But I must give Rai Dr. Haridhan Dutt Bahadur what is his due. His observations about the Board for Intermediate Education are justified, though he did not know what they are concerned with; they are not concerned with intermediate schools. But I asked the Government how many schools are there? how many High Schools are there; are more than 3 or 4 under the Dacca University? And is it worth while having an institute and an expensive Intermediate Education Board for these few? But it may be said that this Board is an experiment, an example. First let us see how it works, so that when we have a Board at Calcutta we may have something, some example to follow. Beyond that the Intermediate Board

of Education at Dacca seems in my humble judgment a superfluity.

With this modification I submit that the Dacca Training School should not be abolished, but that the Government should take into consideration the observations made by Rai Dr. Haridhan Dutt Bahadur about the Board of Intermediate Education.

IMPRISONMENT FOR SOLICITATION.

Roy Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur : I support the amendment of Mr. Villiers. I will not repeat his arguments which are cogent enough. Speaking for myself, I cannot kick at a helpless poor woman not even for the sake of morality. Mercy is higher than any canon of morality that we know of. The poor unfortunate woman has been the temptress from ancient times. Eve tempted Adam out of the Garden of Eden. The celestial fairies are supposed to have tempted the great Rishis of old. Even the great Buddha was supposed to have been tempted. Woman—the temptress ! It is the male in the universe of life that adorns himself with all fineries, with songs and dances to tempt the female—the glory of the female is motherhood. It is sometimes forced upon her by the stronger male. In the case of the woman there is the glory of motherhood but in the case of the man there is only lust. Sir, woman—the temptress ! She is to be sent to jail for soliciting ! I can never be a party to that. I know of a great man now dead who seduced a very respectable girl. In his old age he became virtuous and deserted her. He told me that she came to his house with tears in her eyes and asked him not to desert her but this saintly person said that he resisted all temptation. He did not yield to solicitation,

Sir, do you know which sort of woman solicits? It is the woman ruined and deserted by man, forced for her bread to stand beside her door and tempt man by her beauty. She has no bread at home. Probably her child is starving and it is only that which makes her undergo this humiliation of going through the streets soliciting. I cannot conceive of a sadder spectacle than that. I would not, indeed I cannot further describe the heartlessness of those who attempt to send to jail such a weak and breadless woman.

The dangers of such a provision as this are so great that I wonder how any one can support it.

The amendment rejecting the provision for imprisonment for solicitation was carried—Ed.

PARTITION OF MIDNAPORE.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur : I beg to support the amendment. I read this morning in the newspapers that the Governor of Madras said that the Madras Councillors were in deepest gloom and they are full of pessimism because of their imminent bankruptcy. Sir, we in Bengal have displayed no such pessimism. We have taken our courage in both our hands. We have accepted the fact that we have a huge deficit and we are determined to act in spite of it. In that view, Sir, we are determined that we shall strike out at least one crore of rupees and put Bengal on her feet. In that view, Sir, we have struck out Rs. 23,50,000 from the police grant. There is no difficulty whatsoever in going back on the actuals of 1920-21. The Indian Moderate newspapers and certain Anglo-Indian newspapers have all condemned the partition of the district. We have been given responsibility for the progress of this country. We are working for the good of the people. It is true that certain people, a very small coterie, have succeeded in dismissing Mr. P. L. Roy, but every impartial person must have observed that a number of motions against the proper working of the administration have been rejected. We desire to co-operate with the Government and not to impede its actions, but we desire, we are here, to carry on great and beneficial reforms for the good of our people. Otherwise our presence here is unnecessary. Therefore, Sir, I have thought right that the partition of Mymensingh, the partition of Midnapore and the Grand Trunk Canal project

should be opposed. We have done nothing to let anybody suppose that we do not wish to help the Government. Though they disagree with us, they should not misinterpret our action. In the very first motion before this Council, I was loudly abused by a certain Englishman because I carried a motion for medical relief against the votes of the Government party, but I am glad to say that the same Englishman has become one of my best friends since then. I do not know what the Government will do, but the Government ought to be aware that any hope of relief from Delhi is illusory, having regard to the fact that there are the Russo-Afghan treaty and the mutterings of thunder from the North-West. Every right thinking Indian should feel it his duty to stand by the Government and to support it in its effort to meet the menace, if any. Sir, please don't make the people of Bengal bankrupt. You may be quite sure that no Council will be able to pass any measure of new taxation and you may be quite sure that any measure of taxation will make Bengal absolutely disaffected. It was Bengal, by the help of which the English conquered the whole of India, and I would give you the assurance that if Bengal is properly governed, Afghans, Russians and Frontier Muhammadans will again be beaten with the help of the Bengalees. Please don't make Bengal bankrupt or disaffected. I say therefore that this unnecessary luxury at least for the present should not be indulged in.

The grant for the partition of Midnapore was rejected.—Ed.

AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT.

Roy Jogendra Chandra Ghose Bahadur : I have to oppose these motions. I think that we have to bear in mind that our Government should not be in a bankrupt condition ; and therefore, we should try our very best to reduce the items of expenditure in the Budget ; but I am a afraid that with regard to Agriculture not a pice should be reduced. Have those gentlemen who have proposed this reduction any idea as to how the agricultural work is done in the United States ? Have they any idea of what amount of money they spend ? The money spent on Agriculture is is spent for the improvement of the agriculture of an empire—and Bengal is an empire ; though Bengal may not be nearly as large as the United States. Do we know the work they do ? They have got not only research stations, but the results of research are brought home to every cultivator by officers of the States. Have we got a machinery of that kind here ? I hope that as long as I am here, I shall bring before you the system that prevails in America and I do hope that a portion of it, at least, should be adopted in this country. It may be that you cannot adopt their expensive methods, because the United States is a very rich country ; but something must be done and much more than what is now being done. I know that the work of the Agricultural Department is regarded as very unsatisfactory by the people of

this country, notwithstanding the glorious accounts about *Indrasail* and other seeds. I know that every farm of the Department is a losing farm. I repeatedly asked, when I was a member of the Legislative Council before, the Agricultural Department to run at least one farm on a commercial basis and to show the people of Bengal that profit could be made by improved agriculture. What they now find is, not profit but that great deal of loss is incurred in the farms. Therefore people are very dissatisfied and that is the reason why not a single man would take to agriculture. I read in the papers that a Deputy Director of Agriculture said that a Bengali young man could make a decent living on 50 bighas of land; and he gave a very glowing account of Agriculture. Many young men took to it and failed. What does Mr. Smith say to that? It is desirable no doubt that a large number of people should take to Agriculture, but there are defects which should be remedied. Then the representatives of the people will see that something practical and good is done by the Agricultural Department. But I shall be the last person to eat one pice from the grant for the Agricultural Department; on the other hand I would like to double it, so that we might adopt some of the methods of the American States.

The motions for reducing the grant to the Agriculture Department were defeated.—Ed.

FISHERIES DEPARTMENT.

Roy Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur : I have the disagreeable task of having to oppose this amendment. Is it known to the gentlemen who are trying to abolish the Fisheries Department that there is no civilized country in the world, in which there is not this department? Do they know that in the Empire of Austria it was the Fisheries Department that was the most lucrative department in the whole Empire? Do they know how the fisheries of this country may be developed to the great and lasting benefit of the country? Do they know that in every State of the United States of America there is a Fisheries Department? My friend Babu Kishori Mo'han Chaudhuri said that the Fisheries and Agriculture Departments in England are one. They may be one in some countries. Is that a reason for abolishing it? Now, Sir, one of these gentlemen has said that if ours is a civilized Government, we must have a Fisheries Department, but the reply was that we are not a civilizzed Government and we should not have one. Now, Sir, if we, poor people, are to be troubled in this fashion, I shall be very sorry indeed.

The motion for the abolition of the department was lost but subsequently on the Retirement Committee's recommendation Government abolished it without consulting the Council. — Ed.

POLICE GRANT.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur : Yesterday I was not quite well and therefore I left the meeting before the amendments on the police grant were discussed. I was surprised to find that every one of these amendments was withdrawn, and then I knew that the object of a certain combination was simply to defeat the survey and settlement proceedings, to prevent the addition to the cadre of munsifs and deputy magistrates and to abolish of the post of the Additional Legal Remembrancer, Mr. P. L. Roy. This increasing expenditure on police is a sore point with the people of this country. It is well known that the people of this country are not in great love with the police. I know very well that without the police our lives and properties are not safe. The first great work of the British Government was to restore peace and order in a country which never knew them before, but the police unfortunately has become unpopular and the increasing expenditure on it is greatly disliked by the people of this country. Before an increased expenditure is sanctioned, it is the bounden duty of the Government to satisfy the people that without that increase peace and order cannot be restored. There was a time when anarchy was rife and one could understand that there should be an increase in the establishment. But now there is profound peace in the country notwithstanding Mahatma Gandhi and the non-co-operators. Our Government is deceived by the police; never fancy for a moment that in

Bengal there should be any breach of the peace or any anarchical crimes again? Why should there be this extraordinary increase in the police expenditure? You have given us some sort of representatives to help you in the Government of this country. Please give them a chance and see whether they can be of any help to you in keeping the peace of the land. Now, if we, the representatives of the people, sanction this increase in expenditure we shall certainly be very unpopular. We want to be in the confidence of our people, and therefore I think that this increased expenditure should not be sanctioned. Government will have to make a very strong case for it. Every year increased expenditure on the police cannot be tolerated, especially when we find that we have got no money for medical help to the poor, when we have no money to pay to the *gurus* and teachers, when we have no money for pure or any sort of drinking water in the land. This increase in the police expenditure cannot be tolerated. We shall try our best to cut down the expenditure so that we may get money for medical help, for pure drinking water and for *gurus* and teachers. We are bound to have these things, and, if we cannot so curtail our expenditure as to get these things, I think our presence in this Council is simply superfluous. I therefore submit that this proposed grant of Rs. 23,32,700 should be struck out.

The motion for striking out the grant was carried. Subsequently however notwithstanding the protest of Roy Bhadur Jogendra Chunder Ghose most of the popular members combined and restored it.—Ed.

RECORD OF RIGHTS.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur : I have to oppose this motion. But before I do so, I have very reluctantly and with very great regret to reply to certain very injurious observations made against me on the last occasion when I was here, by Mr. Ajoy Dutt, the son of an illustrious patriot and leader. I would not have to make this reply now but for the closure that was used then. Mr. Dutt said that I was a non-co-operator. I was not, and I am not in the ranks of the Moderates whose leaders 15 years ago were the originators and supporters of the boycott movement, which sent hundreds of youngmen to the gallows, to imprisonment and to the Andamans. On that occasion I was thanked both by the supreme and the local Governments for my action. It is enough for me to say that I am not a no-co-operator nor a moderate. I belong to no such party. But I hold the good and the welfare of this province above all interests except those of morality.

Now, I come to the main subject. The British Government is not nowadays credited with much goodwill towards the people of this country. But in this matter of record-of-rights it has acted up to its highest traditions of safeguarding the rights of the poor people of Bengal. Everybody knows how the rights of tenants have been preserved by the Regulations of 1793 and by the Tenancy Act. We know what great good the British Government has done to

the poor tenants of the country. The record-of-rights is the greatest of these beneficent acts. Sir, I am myself a landlord entitled to be elected to the Council of State. I have suffered personally on account of these settlement proceedings—I have suffered much loss. It is not yet forgotten how Sir Nicholas Beatson Bell most unjustly abused in the Gazette my father and Sir Ashutosh Chaudhuri in connection with these proceedings. But notwithstanding that I am bound to say that the record-of-rights is a most beneficent act. It safeguards the right of tenants, and I can safely say that it is a very great advantage to the landlords also. It is only the shortsighted landlords that oppose the record-of-rights. But the time is coming—within the next 20 years—when these benches and chairs will be occupied not by the landlords' but by the tenants' representatives. And then they will begin to ask—what are your rights—the rights of the landlords? And the landlords will be very glad to have a record-of-rights at that time.

There is another matter. In most of the districts there has been a record-of-rights,—only a few districts remain. And why on earth should the operations be stopped in these districts? Here is Raja Hrishikesh Laha, one of the largest zemindar in the district of the 24 Parganas and Khulna and here am I, a poor zemindar—and we are both of opinion and that not for a single day should the proceedings of the record-of-rights be stopped in these districts. Do those gentlemen, who have spoken about Khulna

know that the record-of-rights is in operation just now in that district? The large properties of the Lahas are being surveyed. Large numbers of officers and other men have been employed. Is this to be stopped? Somebody said—these are only temporary men, let them go. Temporary men have no rights, and so they must go away and starve! Very good! But nobody would approve of this sort of thing. Government employs a large number of Amins and other officers. They cannot be turned out in a day. Government knows how they are to be employed. Somebody said—why have you taken up work in four districts? Do you know why? The work has been completed in other districts and where are these men to go? After the records are made and the disputes settled, the surveyors should go to other districts. I think in this matter Government has every right to the support of every member here. As regards economy, nobody can suggest where the economy is to be applied. I think it would be enough for the Hon'ble Member in charge to say that he would see that the utmost economy is exercised. That would be quite enough. Nobody can point out how economy is to be exercised. Economy is very good, but how is it to be effected? I think the motion that has been brought here should not be supported.

The motion for stopping the Survey Settlement proceedings was defeated.—Ed.

INCREASE OF RENT OF UTBANDI RYOTS.

Rai Jogendra Chunder Ghose Bahadur :—When I came here this morning, I was prepared to support the amendment that five times the rent should be the premium. Since then, I had half an hour's quiet time to think over it and I see now that there is absolutely no reason or justice in the demand of the landlords that there should be any premium paid. Sir, the section as it is, runs thus:—

“In making the determination of the sum to be paid as rent, the officer shall calculate the average of the amount that was actually paid or payable as rent for the land during the previous six years and shall ordinarily declare the same as the sum to be paid as rent”.

What more can the landlord demand? What right has he after this to demand a premium? Under section 40 of the Tenancy Act when rent is commuted from produce rent to money rent, no premium has to be paid. I am myself a landlord and I am not a socialist, but justice should be done. We ought not to make Bengal another Ireland. We must do justice, justice first, justice second, and justice last. If you get the proper rent on commutation, what right have you to get a premium in this case, when you do not get a premium under section 40 when produce rent is commuted to money rent? It is the same thing here and it is nothing more than

a commutation of produce or money rent to a fair rent. And what is the fair rent? The average rent which has been paid for the last six years is the fair rent according to the proposed law. It really takes my breath away to hear that the landlord should in justice get three or even five times the existing rent. What right has the landlord to get this premium? I am fully conscious of the fact that this Council is landlord-ridden? But I demand that every one of the landlords here should be just. You must be equitable and just. Self-interest makes us blind, but blindness leads to ruin. You must remember that the day is coming when the tenants of this country will dominate this Council. Now they do not know their rights but they will know their rights some day. (Raja Reshiksh: you and I. will not be here).

Yes, you and I may not be here, but then we must look to the day when the landlords shall have to ask justice from the tenants. Now we are to see that we do justice to them. Therefore, Sir, I submit that the landlords have no right whatsoever to demand any premium.

The motion for granting a premium to the landlords was carried notwithstanding Roy Bahadur Jogendra Chunder Ghose's opposition.—Ed.

EXTENTION OF REFORMS TO DARJEELING.

Roy Jogendra Chunder • Ghose Bahadur: I beg to support this resolution. I do not wish it, to go forth to the world that this council of Bengalis described the Bhutias and Tibetans as mere Dandi wallas. That expression should never have been used. We Bengalis ought to know what a debt of gratitude we owe to the Tibetans; when Buktiaur Khilji conquered Bengal and destroyed the books of Bengal and Bihar, most of what remained were taken to Tibet and they are still to be found there. The civilization of Tibet was in no way inferior to the civilization of India and the Tibetans at one time ruled over Nepal and a very large part of Bengal. That fact should not be forgotten. The fact that Atisa Dwipankara, who hailed from Bikrampur, went to Tibet should not be forgotten as also the close relationship that existed at the time between Tibet and Bengal. Next, as to the main question on the merits of the case, the best thing would be to give the Tibetans a seat in this Council and also to the Gurkhas and Lepchas another seat. We should like very much that the Gurkhas and Lepchas should begin to come to the wider life of India. From this large view of the matter, I do hope that the Government should include Darjeeling and also extend to it the privileges of communal representation which have been extended to the Muhammadans. If this view is taken, I am a sure even the Dandi-wallas of Darjeeling will not object.

**Presidential address of Roy Bahadur Jogendra
Ohunder Ghose while presiding over the
Teachers' Conference at the Uni-
versity Institute.**

I deem it a great honour to have been asked to preside over this conference of the teachers of Bengal. I have acted as a teacher in night schools in an amateurish way. But I am conscious of the sacred work done by men whose vocation in life is to teach the youth of a country and lead them to knowledge and noble life. I desire to have the honor to be counted among the friends of gentlemen whose calling is the highest that a good man can have.

I know how ill-paid you are, with what difficulty you keep your head above the waters, how after 5 hours strenuous work, which taxes a man's brain, lungs and patience to the utmost, many of you have no leisure but have to work as private tutors, mornings and evenings. Again those of you who do not work in Government schools have no pension to expect when disabled by sickness or old age and have further the risk of being turned out any time by the authorities of your school. This state of things must change. You should have higher salaries, pensions and provident funds and a more secure tenure of office. The resolutions that are presently going to be moved to some extent will meet your wants. You are aware that I moved a resolution in the Council for the establishment of

the Board for Secondary Education which was carried. The Hon'ble Mr Probhas Chunder Mitra our education Minister, will shortly introduce a bill, for giving effect to that resolution. He will, I hope earn your gratitude by generous provisions about your pay, prospects, security and pensions. If your humble friend be in the Council you may rest certain that he shall do all that is possible for him to do. Your resolution about publication and sale of books has also my fullest support. I recognize the fact that teachers may well be entrusted with the work of compiling text books for High Schools. The text-book Committee should be composed mainly of teachers of High Schools.

So much for yourselves. I should also speak on this occasion on some of the burning questions about education now agitating the public mind. The first is that of national education. To be sure national education is the only education that the youth of a country should have. But what is national education? The distinction between national schools and Government schools is made only in independent countries. We are a dependent people and the national funds raised by taxes are controlled by a foreign Government. That being so unless the people can by imposing voluntary taxes upon themselves raise 2 to 3 crores of rupees a year for education, they can not ignore the institutions of the Government. The Government itself will be very glad to throw the burden on the people. That is one reason why we have got the reforms and the

Indian Education Minister has to recommend fresh taxation for money for education. This phase of the matter should be considered by the advocates of national schools. Education will cease in this country if Government grants are rejected.

Again within the course of next six months there will be legislation giving full control of education to the elected representatives of the people and you may have national education. But you must remember the nation consists of a majority, of of Muhammadans. We shall have Swaraj in education. But what kind of Swaraj will it be with the clash of races, creeds and languages? The patience, the forbearance, the enlightenment and the self-sacrifice necessary for orderly progress for Swaraj are very great. The first conflict will be about a common language.

This brings me to the next question and that is the question of teaching in the vernacular. It must be admitted by every body that a boy should acquire knowledge through the medium of his mother tongue. I for my part would like to have all the textbooks of European science and philosophy, history and political and social science translated into Bengalee and to see our boys acquiring knowledge through them. But the books do not exist at present. Again the question is, is Western culture necessary? By Western culture I mean methods of progressive science, philosophy, politics and sociology. People forget mathematics can be only one, chemistry and astronomy, as distinguished from

alchemy and astrology of ancient countries, can not be different for different countries. Even modern philosophy and experimental psychology can not be different for different countries. It does not matter in what language they are learned. They must be learned in English for convenience for the present. But surely the day is coming when they would be learned in the mother tongue of the boys. But what is the mother tongue of Indians. Even the Muhammadans who are the majority in Bengal would not have our Bengalee, they would have Urdu or the Urdu-mixed Bengalee they speak. It is impossible to convince them that they should agree to have Bengalee as the medium of instruction. So if we insist upon the vernacular of Bengal and it be decided by the vote of the majority of the population, we may have Urdu and Bengalee may pass away. It is a contingency I shudder to contemplate.

Further we must remember from a political and national point of view if it were possible we should have one language for all India. Lokamanya Tilak thought the adoption of Hindi as the common language for India was indispensable for Swaraj. The late justice Śaroda Charan Mitra established a society for the adoption of the Nagri character by all Indians. The only possible solution seems to be that Urdu which is very similar to Hindi with Nagri characters should be adopted by all Indians.* That

* *The Indian National Congress has lately decided that Hindi with either Hindi or Urdu*

seems to be inevitable for Northern India. But is modern Bengalee of Hem Chunder and Rabiandra Nath and Bankim Chunder to pass away? We can not agree to it. We Bengalee-speaking Hindus of Bengal should so enrich the Bengalee language that it may be willingly accepted by different classes in Bengal. It is a fact not very well-known that many Bihary gentlemen learned Bengalee in pre-partition days because of the excellence of Bengalee books. The Hindi theatres of Calcutta are not welcome to me. The rich managers of Hindi theatres by their magnificent accoutrements have thrown the Bengalee theatres in the shade. We are making way for other peoples in every department of life. But our literature still occupies a pre-eminent position in India. Let our authors so enrich it, let our theatre-managers so endeavour that in time Bengalee may be fashionable as a language for all India. The result will depend upon the Bengalee Hindus being able to maintain their pre-eminence among the peoples of India. If they give way to other peoples, there is no hope for their language. I hope they will not make way for others. In the meantime the conflict of languages should not be made an issue of a fight of between peoples of different classes and creeds. Let us pause and consider and not hurry in this matter. I love the Bengalee language quite as much as most people but I am ap-

script should be the common language of India. The Hindi and Urdu of India are practically the same language—Ed.

prehensive of the consequences of a premature conflict.

The next question is that of vocational industrial training in high schools. People use the word vocational but do not understand its meaning. It means the training for an industrial profession which a boy is intended to adopt in after life. In that sense training in smithy work or weaving is out of place in a school attended by boys of the Bhadrologue classes. They in all European countries do not take to these professions. Why poor Bengalee Brahmins, Kayasthas and Vaidyas should be forced to learn these professions which they will never adopt in after life I can not understand. I have spent all my life in endeavouring to improve the industrial position of my country and I know something about our condition and the conditions prevailing in other countries. In no country in the world, for the matriculation classes an industrial training is insisted upon. Again the half starved High Schools can ill afford to pay for these additional classes. Our patriotic lawyer friends in the Council who never had anything to do with industries should pause and consider.

Last of all, I have to speak to you of a matter which I consider as of paramount importance. The reason why we are going down in the struggle for existence against the stronger peoples of other provinces and are being ousted by them in the mills, in carpentry, in smith's works, as masons, as fitters, as chauffeurs and lastly as muffassil vendors

and buyers of goods, is our inferior physique and capacity for hardship. It is for this reason that Muhammadans are about 85 p. c. of the cultivating classes of this country. It is for this reason also that even the stronger Muhammadan cultivator is requiring the help of the still stronger and hardier Urias, Sonthals and upcountry men in agriculture. The improvement of our physique is therefore of infinitely greater importance than any other matter. When I was in the Senate, I had a scheme for compulsory physical training for boys passed by the Faculty of Arts but the resolution was lost by one vote in the Senate on account of the opposition of the so-called patriots of the day. Now gentlemen I most earnestly desire you to consider the matter. You can surely have gymnasiums. Remember football demoralizes and does not develop the muscles and may be of some good but not of much good. In no country foot-ball players go without other exercise for the development of the muscles. In Germany they will have nothing but gymnastics. Now gentlemen you can surely have physical instructors and induce all your boys to take physical training. In the mofussil schools the boys should be allowed to go home and return after an hour for an hour of physical training and games in the school compound. It is not a difficult matter to manage. I give you no scheme. But I bring this to our notice, gentlemen, you who are the trainers of the youth of this country, you on whom the future progress, intellectual, industrial political, moral and

religious, wholly depends. John Knox while fighting for freedom and against superstitions said send the school master abroad and all will be right. Before you all despotism, all that is evil, must shrink and pass away Gentlemen remember your high vocation in life.

APPENDIX.

The manifesto issued by the leaders of Bengal society, describing the manifold works of Roy Bahadur Jogendra Chunder Ghose on the eve of his election to the first reformed Council.

Roy Bahadur Jogendra Chunder Ghose is a candidate for election to the Bengal Council by the graduates of Bengal. He has devoted his entire life to learning and the good of his Country and is distinguished among his countrymen for learning, purity and nobleness of character, steadfastness of purpose, self-sacrifice and patriotism. He is a brilliant scholar. His first act after graduating was to establish several night schools for the poor which were among the first of their kind in Bengal and in one of which he taught the boys himself and which he has kept up for the last thirty years. His next work after passing the M. A. Examination was to edit and publish the works of Raja Ram Mohun Roy, which wealthier and greater men than he had been proposing to do for years before him but without result. The introduction, which contained an account of the life and work of the great Raja, written by him, received high praise from the Viceroy in his convocation speech at the time. His next work was in help of the Coolies of Assam, for whose relief he employed agents in several stations in the route of emigration at his own expense and thus reduced the abuses, and the number of emigrants deluded by false promises

was also in consequence materially reduced. He joined the Congress and was the mover of the resolution against the Coolie emigration laws, the objectionable provisions of which have since been repealed. He was next elected by a large majority by the Masters of Arts of the University at the head of the poll as one of the first elected Fellows of the Calcutta University. He served there for several years as Fellow and as a member of the Syndicate. While in the Senate he brought a resolution for compulsory physical training, which unfortunately though carried by the Syndicate and the Faculty was lost by one vote in the Senate. He was one of those through whose exertion the B. Sc. degree was instituted and it was through his efforts and on account of his opposition that amendments practically negating the proposal brought by a very influential Indian section of the Senate were defeated. He was also twice elected to the Calcutta Corporation and did good work in helping the opening out of wide roads and in the carrying out of the great Suburban Drainage scheme for which he received a Certificate of Honour from Sir A. Mackenzie, though he had seconded the vote of censure against him, which was carried in the Corporation. He resigned with 28 other Commissioners. He has not been in the Senate or in the Calcutta Corporation after the reactionary legislation of Lord Curzon about those institutions.

He was elected a member of the Bengal Council defeating some of the most distinguished of our

countrymen. While in the council he was instrumental in defeating the bill for the imposition of the Railway cess and in the introduction of the informal discussion of the budget before presentation to the Council, the formal recognition of which privilege was one of the great measures of the Reform of Lord Morley. When the present Reforms were being discussed he wrote a letter to the Indian Daily News advocating that the Indian members of the Civil Service should be 50 p. c. of the entire cadre and it is a matter of satisfaction to find that his suggestion was practically adopted in the present reforms.

He is the founder and the devoted Secretary of the Association for the Association for the Advancement of Scientific and Industrial Education of Indians, which has sent about 400 students to foreign countries. His students are the science and technical professors in almost every college in Bengal. His students have started 20 new industries. Throughout British India and the Native States his students are to be found at the head of industrial firms as experts. He has brought scientific and industrial knowledge to the country in a measure never dreamed of before. It was also the students of the association, who alone, as the Hon'ble Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nundy Bahadur said at his last presidential speech, by sheer force of numbers broke down the ancient social barriers against sea-voyage for purposes of education and training in foreign countries.

It was at his instance, when he was in the Legis-

native Council, that a commission was appointed by Sir Andrew Fraser for preparing a scheme for technical education and the establishment of a Polytechnical College. The recommendations of that Commission have only been partially carried out. Indeed, since he left the council, little has been done in the matter of technical education and the establishment of a Polytechnic College.

The great need of the country is education and industrial revival. There are few men more competent to help the country at this than he.

As a scholar and author he is pre-eminent among his countrymen. He edited the works of Raja Ram Mohun Roy. He has contributed able articles in the leading Bengali magazines. He has brought out three volumes of Hindu Law, the authoritative character of which has been recognized by the Privy Council and the High Courts of India and which have been described in some of the leading English and Indian Papers as a "monument of scholarship and legal learning" which "will last as long as Hindu Law and the Sanscrit language". He was a Tagore Professor of Law. His work on Impartible property has just gone through a second edition and the second edition of his work on Endowments and Religious Institutions and his new work on Positive Religious are in the Press.*

September 1920.

* They have since been published.—Ed.

PEARY MOHUN MOOKERJI,
(Raja C. S. I. M. A. B. L. Late Member Imperial Council and Fellow of the Calcutta University).

KAILASH CHUNDER BOSE (Sir)
(Member of the Faculty of Medicine).

SERAJUL ISLAM,
(Nawab, Fellow of the Calcutta University, Member Bengal Council.

MOHENDRA CHANDRA MITRA,
Member Bengal Council).

MOHENDRA NATH ROY,
(C. I. E. Member of the Faculties of Law and Arts, Calcutta University. Member Bengal Council).

ANNADA PROSAD SIRCAR,
(Roy Bahadur B. C. E. Late Chief Engineer and Secretary to the Government of Bengal).

KISHORI MOHAN CHOWDHURY,
Member Bengal Council.

A. K. FUZLUL HAQ,
Member Bengal Council.

SARAT CHANDRA CHUCKERBARTI,
Member Bengal Council).

JOGENDRA NATH MUKHERJI,
Late Member Bengal Council.

B. L. CHAUDHURI, D, SC. Edin.

A. N. BANERJI,
Canon of St. Mary's Church.

*Roy Bahadur Jogendra Chunder Ghose's work
in the Bengal Legislative Council.*

1. On his motion the Council passed a resolution recommending the establishment of a charitable dispensary in every Thana and the subsidizing of doctors for rural areas. The Government budgeted money for the purposes and the minister for public health has publicly declared that the Government will soon establish charitable dispensaries in every Thana and in every Village Union. It is hoped that millions of people who now die without medical help will find some relief.

2. On his motion the Council passed a resolution recommending an annual grant of 2 lacs of Rupees to the District Boards for water supply. The Government budgeted money for the purpose. It is hoped water scarcity in Bengal will soon be a thing of the past.

3. On his motion a resolution was passed recommending that in every Thana there should be a demonstration agricultural farm and a Veterinary Surgeon for preventing epidemics among cattle and giving relief to them, which was accepted by the Government.

4. On his motion the Council passed a resolution recommending the establishment of a Technological College and an Agricultural College. Government has as yet done nothing to give effect to it.

5. It was at his instance that girls were included within the purview of the Bengal children's Act and provisions for the protection of girls below

sixteen against seduction and corruption made; introducing in Bengal the provisions of the protective law passed in England by the exertions of the late Mr. Stead.

6. He moved a resolution recommending that the provisional and subordinate executive services should be recruited by competitive examination, a certain percentage of appointments being reserved for Muhammadan, Indian Christian and Anglo-Indian graduates, and graduates of the backward classes which was carried and accepted by the Government*

7. He advocated the abolition of the artificial and invidious distinction of the three branches, Indian, Provincial and Subordinate in the Judicial and Executive services, among officers doing the same kind of work.

8. He opposed the reduction of the number and status of the Judicial service, the Executive service, (especially the Sub-Deputy Collectors) and the Education service and Agricultural service, the Fisheries service and the Registration service and had the satisfaction of seeing that the recommendations of this Retrenchment Committee were not in

* *The resolution has been given effect to, but in a form subversive of its spirit on account of the famous pact of the Swarajists now in power by which a class is being given a majority of the appointments though they may fail in the competitive test.—E.d.*

any great measure accepted, in regard to these services*.

9. On his motion the Council passed a resolution recommending the establishment of a Board for secondary education by which the pitiable condition of teachers and Secondary Schools will be ameliorated.

10. He opposed and had the satisfaction of seeing all proposals for the labolition of Training Schools and other Government Schools and Colleges made by the Retrenchment Committee rejected.

11. On his motion the Council passed a resolution recommending that nobody should be made a special Ccnstable for a political offence.

12. He was of service in the passing of the resolution abolishing whipping in the jails.

13. He opposed and had the satisfaction of seeing the Bengal Salt Act Amendment Bill thrown out, an event unprecedented in any Council.

14. He did his best to bring to the notice of the Government the miserable condition of the middle classes and recommended it to take measures to ameliorate it and be opposed every attempt to abolish posts in the name of retrenchment, now occupied by persons of the educated middle classes, in every department, with a great deal of success.

15. He strenuously opposed the three taxation Bills.

* *His work has been frustrated by the present Council.—Ed.*

16. He was one of those who led the opposition against Communal representation as being against the best interests of this country.

17. He was one of these who led the opposition against the abolition of the power of regulation of cow-slaughter by the Calcutta Municipality.

18. He was one of those who led the opposition against the Grand Trunk Canal.

19. He was one of those whose opposition defeated the proposals for the partitions of Midnapore and Mymensing.

20. He was one of those few who opposed drastic measures against boy cotters and persisted in his opposition when many prominent members were not consistent in their action.

21. He did his duty during the debates on the release of political prisoners on flogging in the Barrisal Jail, on the Mohangunj Hat outrage, on the Chandpore cuttage, and on the Manair Char cuttage in the Faridpore District.

22. He opposed reductions in the School of Tropical Medicine and in the Medical Service.

22. He successfully supported the tenants in the case of Utbandi.

23. He advocated compulsory arbitration to prevent ruinous litigation. His motion to give effect to his scheme was not reached in the last Council.

The above is a resume of a manifesto by Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prosad Shastri, Mr. P. C. Bose Mr. P. N. Mukerji, Mr. P. Mukerji and B. L. Chowdhury.—Ed.

